THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The reduction of the small map makes satisfactory progress. It is expected that the outline will be completed in July, after which the hill work will be taken in hand. The memoirs are in Major Wilson's hands. No time will now be lost in printing them and preparing the illustrations.

An impression seems to have got abroad that with the completion of the field-work ceases the necessity for funds. The fact has been already pointed out in these *Notes* that it will cost as much to publish the materials in hand as to keep the expedition for two years in the field. The Survey cannot be called complete until the whole of these materials are published.

The Treasurer's Statement for the year 1878 is as follows :—

"The income of the Fund was less in 1878 than in 1877 by more than a thousand pounds. In this period of general depression every society shows a similar falling-off in support. A special cause for the decrease in our own case seems to be, however, a prevalent belief that the work is completed. The Survey of Western Palestine has, it must be remembered, to be published, and the cost of publication will probably be equivalent to the expense of maintaining an expedition in the field for two years. Again, while there is no exploring party in Palestine, no donations come in, and the Committee have to rely on the annual subscriptions. These continue pretty steady, and show little if any decrease.

"As regards the expenditure, there is an apparent increase in the management expenses, which is partly due to the fact that at the beginning of the year the sum of fifty pounds was owing to the account of the salary. The publication of *Tent Work* also caused a very large increase in the 'parcels' account. Printing and postage amounting to twenty per cent. of the whole is due almost entirely to the *Quarterly Statement*, and must be regarded as so much money returned to subscribers. The item of unpaid acounts, including a heavy charge on *Tent Work*, has been reduced since the beginning of the year by the sum of £532 9s. 8d. It is hoped that by the end of April the debt will be entirely wiped off.

"As regards the expenditure of the present year, we have, after payment of outstanding liabilities, most of which (March 25) are already paid, to provide for the publication of the memoirs, the large map, and the small map. In other words, the Committee have to take upon themselves the very serious responsibility of printing, engraving, and publishing the mass of materials which the work of the last seven years has placed in their hands."

The special appeal made for the proposed Galilee Expedition was not continued because it was found that the expedition could not be sent out at the time originally proposed. The Committee have placed the sums subscribed in answer to their first call, amounting to £186 5s. 0d., on deposit account. It will be used for no other purpose.

About one hundred and eighty copies still remain of the new edition of *Tent Work in Palestine*. It is not likely that another library edition will be issued. Subscribers, therefore, who wish to possess this record of work and observation, should send in their names at once.

Work in Syria has again occupied the attention of the Royal Institute of British Architects, whose Council have presented their gold medal to the Count de Vogüé for his researches in the Hauran.

The fourth number of the Transactions of the German Palestine Exploration Association has just been issued. It completes the first volume. The contents of this number are a continuation of the Pilgrimage of Duke Frederick II. of Liegnitz and Brieg to the Holy Land; the description of the Temple by Philip de Aversa; a paper on Capernaum by Professor Schaff, of New York, which we hope to translate for the next number; a note on the Birthplace of the Prophet Nahum, and a chapter on David's Tours, by Herr Schick.

A work of research and interest on the "Life and Times of Abraham" (Samuel Bagster and Sons) has been published by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins. The author has gathered together all the information recently acquired from the tablets of Babylonia and the hieroglyphs of Egypt, and published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in the "Records of the Past," in our own *Quarterly Statements*, by M. Lenormant, Dr. Birch, Rev. Prof. Sayce, M. Chabas, and others. The aim of the writer has been to present faithfully the surroundings of Abraham, the people among whom he lived, their manners, customs, religion, and laws.

We may also call attention to a popular account of the Moabite Stone, called "Moab's Patriarchal Stone," which has been published by the Rev. James King, of Darlington, one of the authorised lecturers of the Society. The book, without pretending to the scholarship which distinguished Dr. Ginsburg's work on the same subject, gives all the information on the stone that can be desired in a popular volume. The history of the original discovery, the destruction, and restoration of the fragments, is a well-known and often-told story, which is here related with great clearness and in sufficient detail. A short treatise will be found in the work on the origin and development of alphabets.

We have received a second paper from Mrs. Finn on the Fellahheen of Palestine, which is published in the present number of the *Quarterly Statement*. Although Mrs. Finn has for the present ceased to hold meetings for the Society, her interest in the work still continues. These chapters on the habits and customs of the people are destined to form part of a forthcoming work on the same subject.

A model of Herod's Temple, executed by Mr. J. M. Tenz, has been presented by him to the Society. The modeller has adopted the traditional view of the position of the Temple, and has attempted to present a restoration of all the

chambers, vaults, gates, and corridors described by Josephus and Ezekiel. The model may be seen in the Society's room at the South Kensington Museum.

It is again suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying a subscription is by means of a bank. Many subscribers have adopted, this method recommended in the *Quarterly Statement* of January last. Among other advantages, this method removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and saves the Society's office the labour and expense of acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

We repeat what we said in the *Notes* of the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1879, that the payment of subscriptions *early in the year* greatly strenghtens the hands of the Committee.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward the periodical to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise to occasional omissions.

The income of the Fund from all sources, from December 31st, 1878, to March 11th, 1879, was £783 4s. 3d. The expenditure was as follows:—Reduction of debt and liabilities on *Tent Work*, £783 6s. 2d; small amounts paid on exploration account, £19 15s. 2d.; rent, lecture account, parcels, postage, salaries, and offices, £202 11s. 3d.

It has been asked whether, since the Survey is finished, the *Quarterly Statement* will be discontinued. The Survey, as stated above, will be actually completed when it is entirely published, and not before. But its completion does not mean the completion of the work of the Society, as reference to the original prospectus will show. And there is, more than ever, need of a periodical devoted to the special line of research which is the *raison d'être* of this *Quarterly Statement*. It will therefore be continued as long as the Society exists and there is work of the kind which it represents to be done and reported.

Several cases have been at various times discovered of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss, unless subscriptions are paid through the bank, is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, Esq., and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs.:—

Archdeaconry of Hereford: Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester: Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire: Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London: Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square; and Mr. C. Stuart Lockhart (address at the office).

Norwich: Rev. W. F. Creeny.

Suffolk: Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough: Rev. A. J. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester: Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon: Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales: Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King has recently returned from the Holy Land; communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letter asking for them must be sent to the office at 11 and 12, Charing Cross only.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

A JOURNEY ON FOOT THROUGH ARABIA PETRÆA.

(*A Paper read before the Geographical Section of the British Association.*)

By the Rev. F. W. Holland, M.A., F.R.G.S.

Early in the morning on the 29th of last March I arrived at Suez, having left London on the evening of the 21st. I had only ten weeks at my command; but allowing a fortnight for the journeys out to Suez and home again this would leave me eight weeks, which I hoped would prove sufficient to enable me to accomplish the objects of my expedition, which were (1) to examine the sandstone district in the Peninsula of Sinai, lying between the ancient Egyptian mining stations of Wady Mugharah and Serâbit el Kâdim, with the view of the possible discovery of other Egyptian ruins or inscriptions; (2) to trace out the various routes that the Israelites might have taken on their march northwards from Mount Sinai to Kadesh-Barnea, so as to institute a just comparison between the facilities or the difficulties which attend them; (3) to explore Jebel Mugrâh and Ain Kadeis, in the hope of throwing some additional light upon the question of the site of Kadesh-Barnea, and the boundary of the ancient kingdom of Edom; and (4) to follow the road from Wady el Arish by the ancient Lake Serbonis to Kantara, which Brugsch Bey has suggested as the route which the Israelites took when then they left Egypt.

Having paid four previous visits to the Peninsula of Sinai, I was already well known to the Towârah Arabs who inhabit that region, and found little difficulty in coming to a satisfactory agreement with Sheikh Nassâr to accompany me with two other Arabs and three camels. As on former visits I preferred myself to travel on foot, as more convenient for taking notes of the country, and for using the instruments which the council of the Royal Geographical Society had kindly lent to me. I had no other companion or attendant besides my three Bedouin Arabs. Two of the camels carried my tent, baggage, and provisions for two months; the third one, the Sheikh, and the Arabs' supply of corn.

On Sunday evening, March 31st, I walked quietly down to the Wells of Moses, to which place I had sent on my camels, and the next day I fairly started on my desert journey. On reaching Wady Gharundel we found that Nassâr's tents had been removed here from Wady Nusb, where we had expected to find them, and I was compelled to stop one day as his guest, so that I did not reach the latter place till Friday. At Wady Nusb there are extensive ancient workings for manganese and hæmatite iron-ores, but there is *no direct communication* with the turquoise mines of Serâbit el Kadim. Passing over the head of Wady Nusb, where there are many Sinaitic inscriptions, and up to the head of Wady Lahyan I entered Wady Sahow, and tracing it down discovered that after running in a westerly direction about four miles as a broad open valley with fine seyal trees and much herbage, it changes into a narrow winding rocky ravine, enclosed by high granite cliffs, in one place only nine feet wide, and finally, below a fall of considerable depth, takes the name of Wady Shellâl. It is impassable for camels, but a footpath leads down it. The

mouth of Wady Shellâl is well known, since the usual road to Wady Mokatteb leads past it, but the origin of its name, "The Valley of Cataracts," so-called from the fall which I have mentioned, and its connection with Wady Sahow has not, I believe, before been traced.

I found extensive turquoise mines in Wady Sahow in full work by the Arabs, but there were no traces of ancient workings, or Egyptian inscriptions; nor is there any direct road down Wady Sahow to Wady Mughârah, as I had been led to expect.

I returned by Wady Lahyan to Serâbit el Kadim, and stopping there two days had an opportunity of thoroughly exploring the ancient Egyptian mines on that mountain, and quite satisfied myself that they were worked for turquoise only. The Arabs still work these mines, and as at W. Mughârah have destroyed by blasting many of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

On leaving Serâbit el Kâdim I followed the usual road by Wadies Kamileh and Bark, and the pass of Nukb Howa, to Jebel Musa, which I reached on April 14th.

I stayed here one day, ascending the mountain and renewing my acquaintance with the monks at the convent of St. Katharine. On the 14th I started onwards to trace the route of the Israelites northwards to Kadesh.

Crossing over the mountains from W. er Kahab to W. Tlâh I descended that valley, and then turning to the east, up W. Gharbeh, reached el Watiyeh, the pass in W. es Sheikh which marks, I believe, the site of Rephidim. I thus passed along the northern face of the high mountainous district, known to the Arabs by the name of El Jibâl, and, I think, to the Jews of old by that of Horeb, my object being to examine the water supply on the north-west of el Watiyeh. My camels I sent round by W. es Sheikh.

The next day I continued eastwards, south of the el Watiyeh range, for about four miles, till I reached the head of W. Sa'al el Reîyan ("the watery"), which I traced down to its junction with W. Sa'al el Atshân ("the thirsty"), which forms the usual road from Jebel Musa; I followed the course of W. Sa'al to Erweis el Ebeirig, from which point I crossed over north-east to W. Murrah.

I had before explored W. Sa'al el Atshân, and the other wadies to the south, and am of opinion that all these wadies are too narrow, rugged, and winding to have formed a road for the passage of the large host of the Israelites; nor can I at all agree with my friend Professor Palmer in finding in the numerous heaps of stone at Erweis el Ebeirig, the traces of the Israelitish camp at Kibroth Hataavah, nor, again, do I hold it possible to identify Ain Huthera with Hazeroth; the names are similar, but the difficulties of the route appear to me to place the latter identification out of the question.

After journeying eastwards to within a few miles of Ain Huthera I retraced my steps to Wady Murrah, which I followed up to its head, and ascending the pass of Aragib Rahi, and crossing an elevated sandstone

plateau, reached Ain el Akhdar, the gardens of which I had fixed upon as a shady and well watered spot for resting on Easter-day. I had thus examined what I may call the lower range of Jebel et Tih, without finding any road over it, except a difficult pass called Nukb Murrah; and having explored on this or in previous journeys every wady leading from Jebel Musa, in the direction of the Gulf of Akaba, I felt convinced that all were unsuitable for the passage of the 600,000 men, besides women and children, of the Israelites. I had also explored the country to the north-west of Ain el Akhdar with similar results.

On April 22nd, crossing Joûfa el Akhdar, the sandstone plateau, which lies to the north of the wells, I arrived at a large Arab encampment, where I was entertained by Zeid, whom I now took as guide in the place of one of my other Arabs. In the afternoon we ascended Nukb Dhalal, an easy pass to the top of the mountains, but there was no road beyond. There is excellent pasture on the limestone plateau which we reached, and the pass is evidently much used, but only for taking the flocks and camels to pasture there. Near the head of the pass there are some interesting nuwâmis, ancient storehouses, or dwellings.

Towards the north of the plateau of El Joûfah is situated a prominent conical hill of white sandstone, capped by a hard stratum of limestone containing echini and other fossils, and called Galâib. From this I obtained bearings to several mountain peaks, the position of which had been fixed by the Ordnance Survey.

The district to the S.E. of Galâib is called Zeranîk, and consists of an elevated sandstone plateau, to which there is a gradual ascent of open ground from W. es Sheikh, and the pass of el Watiyeh.

From this I descended by W. Deresêyeh over a succession of terraces of white sandstone to the head of W. Zelleger. In the former wady we found a good supply of rain water that had been retained in a large pot-hole. There are extensive sand-drifts in the upper portion of W. Zelleger. Here bulbs abound, and in January, 1867, I found large numbers of crocuses, whence I believe comes the name Safran, by which this wady has sometimes been known. There is also a large quantity of retem or broom, with which probably is connected the name of Rithmah, the station of the Israelites which stands next to Hazeroth, which latter place I am inclined to place on the Joûfah plateau, where the ruins of ancient enclosures still exist.

W. Zelleger is a broad valley with a smooth, level bed, running north-east between two lines of low mountains, which appear to be very rich in pasturage. About twenty miles down it W. Arâdeh runs in from the south. This is a very large valley, with abundance of vegetation. About six miles lower W. Edeid enters from the north. I turned off up this valley in order to visit the pass of Nakb el Mirad, which has been described by Professor Palmer. Its rocky bed afforded a very bad road for walking, and W. Biyar, which runs into it about nine miles up, was no better, and we were heartily glad to reach our halting place at the wells, which give the valley its name. We found

some Arabs here watering their flocks and camels and washing their sheep.

Taking Zeid with me as guide, I walked on to the pass. We reached the base of Jebel Ejmeh in an hour, and were just forty minutes in ascending to the top. The pass is steep and winding, and impracticable for waggons. This and the rocky character of the wadies leading to it appear to me to put it out of the question as a possible route for the Israelites. It is much used by the Arabs, but merely as a road for bringing down the goats and camels from the mountains to water them at the wells. From the summit of J. Ejmeh I obtained a series of distant bearings to J. Katharine and other mountains, and while engaged in taking these Zeîd was equally busy in manufacturing a flint implement to cut his toe-nails.

The wells, of which there were formerly more than a dozen, have suffered much from neglect, and two only contained water, but owing probably to the accumulation of the droppings of the animals around them for many centuries the water was very bad. Washing it was easy to dispense with, but we had nothing else to drink, and all suffered severely. Sheikh Nassar observed "that if my Lord Moses had brought the 600,000 Israelites here, they would all have fallen ill," as we had done, and was greatly amused at the idea.

We only stopped one night at the wells, and on reaching the junction of Wady Biyar with W. Edeid Zeîd started off up the latter, and after three hours returned with a skin of excellent water.

On reaching Wady Zelleger we followed it down to W. el Ain el Elya. Here the valley, which has hitherto been broad and open, takes a sharp turn to the south through a narrow rocky ravine. Water is plentiful, though not very good. An easy pass, Nukb el Chlyil, which we were about half an hour in crossing, brought us again to a succession of broad open valleys, and three miles on we reached Wady Sowâni. I had before travelled from this point up W. Zelleger. I now entered upon new ground. In W. Sowâni we obtained excellent water from some holes dug in its bed, and it appeared that in this way a very large supply might easily be obtained both here and also in many other places above a point where a large valley is contracted by rocks, and thus the water is brought near the surface. W. Sowâni runs down from J. Ejmeh. We followed up its stony bed for half a mile, and then, turning to the right, north-east, up a narrow gully, crossed a rocky plateau, and descended into W. Shebaikheh, where there are many seyal trees and good pasturage. Here we camped for the night, and intended to stop the following day, which was Sunday, but the number of midges made rest impossible, and compelled us to travel on. Passing over some low granite hills, beneath a higher range which lay on our left, we reached W. el Atiyeh, about eight miles distant from W. Sowâni. This is a broad, open wady, with a smooth gravelly bed. We entered it opposite Jebel Haramât, a large outlying sandstone mountain.

The road which we had followed from W. Sowâni appeared in places

too steep and rocky for the passage of the Israelites with their waggons, so, taking Zeid with me, I traced down the lower portion of W. el Atiyeh to near its junction with W. Sowâni, and found that it afforded a far easier road. We rested in W. Soûrah, in a small cave in which there was a spring, which formed a pool of delicious water. On returning we followed Derb es Soûrah, a good road lying between W. el Atiyeh and our other route.

In the afternoon we continued our course north-east up W. el Atiyeh to Jebel el Herte, passing on the way a large Arab cemetery. I ascended Jebel el Herte, hoping to get a bearing to some fixed peak, but in this I failed, although I obtained a magnificent view of the surrounding country. It is not a high mountain, but from its prominent position is seen from far. At the top is a hole surrounded by large stones, as if for a beacon fire in old times. I have noticed similar remains on many other prominent mountains in that country. North of this point are a succession of low ranges of limestone mountains, through which the wady, which now takes the name of W. el Hessí, runs. As we ascended to a higher level the surrounding mountains gradually appeared lower, and the country became more open. About five miles on the name of the wady again changed to W. Edwah. Here we turned eastwards up a broad valley, still bearing the name of W. el Hessí, to a well about six miles distant, where we obtained water. Thus far I had, I believe, been following the route taken in 1840 by Baron Koller from Sinai to Akabah, and my names and distances agree fairly with his, as given in the *Royal Geographical Society's Journal* of 1842.

Wishing to explore what I believe to have been the route of the Israelites further northwards, we retraced our steps to W. Edwah. After following this up about four miles, we entered W. Sha'arah. The country now partook of the character of large rolling plains, with abundant herbage. I saw many traces of Arab camps, but the dryness of the season had driven all the Arabs northwards in search of pasturage; the herbage was very dry, and we had great difficulty in finding sufficient food for our camels; a difficulty that was much increased by large flights of locusts. After proceeding about fifteen miles further northwards, we crossed the watershed, and entered Wady Meleg, which flows towards the Arabah. This wady is a very remarkable one. It has formed a cleft in the hard limestone rock 40 to 100 feet deep. In this huge pot-holes, 20 feet or more in diameter, have been made by the boulders. Here the water lodges in a series of these natural wells, the sides of which are deeply worn by the ropes of water-drawers, proving that they have been used for many centuries. Zeid informed me that the wady took the names of el Alalîk, and Nub'a farther northwards. We reached this watering-place about 8.30 on May 1st, and stopped three hours to draw water and make bread. On starting onwards I took Zeid with me to examine the Wady lower down. In crossing some rising ground to rejoin our camels, we saw two Arabs and a camel pass behind a hill beyond. We dropped down till they were out of sight, and then running

on, stopped our camels, and Nassar and Zeid ascended the hill behind which the Arabs had disappeared. They soon returned, and reported that we were close upon a large gôm, or raiding expedition. We instantly turned, and drove back our camels as fast as possible, avoiding all soft places that might leave tracks and rising ground. About 4 o'clock my Arabs began to breathe more freely, and we looked out for camping ground, while Zeid was sent back to try to gain some tidings of the direction that the gôm was taking. Suddenly Selim exclaimed, "Here they come!" and looking back I saw two dromedaries carrying four men in hot pursuit. When about 300 yards from us they dismounted, and called upon us to surrender, which my sheikh refused to do. They then formed in a line, and with lighted matchlocks tried to drive us up a side valley. There was much clever manœuvering on both sides, and a great deal of angry gesticulation, shouting, and presenting of guns, our object being to gain time for Zeid, whom we saw running up in the distance, to reach us. It was neither my inclination nor my policy to fight, so I handed my gun to Nassar and walked quietly beside him with my umbrella up as a sign that I was a non-combatant, much amused at my position, deeply interested in observing their manner of attack and defence, and determined, when matters had come to a crisis, to claim as my escort whichever party was victorious. At last the raiders had approached within 30 yards of us. Nassar loudly appealing to God to witness between him and them, now drew a line upon the ground with my gun; this he did three times, each time retiring a few steps. Then taking his stand at the third line with Selim, they stood with guns presented ready to fire the instant the first line should be crossed. On reaching this, the four raiders halted; and seeing my English gun, and hearing Zeid running up from behind them, they came to the conclusion that we were the strongest; so, pulling down the handkerchiefs with which their faces were concealed, they exclaimed Salamâk, "Peace be to you," and crossing the lines, my sheikh and theirs, who recognised each other, fell into each other's arms and kissed; and then we all sat round in a circle and heard their story of how they had tracked us from the watering-place at W. Meleg. They belonged to the tribe of the Haiwât, and with 50 dromedaries and 100 men were on their way for a raid in the Maâzi country to the north-east of Akaba. Three of them camped with us that night; one disappeared, we expected for the purpose of bringing up the rest of their force, and my Arabs stood to their guns all night, but we were not further molested. The want of pasturage and water had already led us to decide upon making for Nukhl. I had much wished to visit Akaba and Dr. Beke's Mount Sinai (Jebel en Nûr), but found it impossible to do so.

The presence of this raid, and the prospect of a return raid from the Maâzi made us abandon our plan of reaching Nukhl by the Hajj road, which runs from Akaba to Suez; and we took a more southerly route, which was known to my Arabs, but has not, I believe, been followed by any previous traveller.

After crossing a succession of hard flinty plateaux, divided by branches of W. Tasyibeh, we reached in $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours a low hill called Mnîrdri beta Namûs, from the large number of round houses or tombs scattered over its top and sides. We came to similar ruins farther on, and near these I found several drawings of ibex, and a well-cut Sinaitic inscription, the only one I saw in the Tîh desert. In $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours more, we reached W. Umm Shyish Herâni, in which there is a large well, much frequented as a watering-place. It was surrounded by eight stone troughs, and another group of troughs a short distance higher up the wady marked the position of another well, which has now disappeared. Two roads lead from this point to Nukhl. The northern one by the plain north of J. Fahîh (probably that followed by Wallin in 1845, leading past Bir Kureis), the other across a mountainous district to the south. We took the latter as the safest from the dreaded raids; my Arabs pointing out in the distance J. Kureis and J. Themed. They told me that there are five well-known wells south of the Hajj road; viz., Themed, Kureis, Taiyibeh about three miles north of our road, Hersí, and Umm Shyish Herâni; Zeid added that there are many other *watering-places*, and much water after rain, but no more *wells*.

Our route was a dreary one across barren and monotonous ranges of chalk mountains, but groups of round tombs here and there in prominent positions proved its antiquity as a road.

After journeying three and a quarter hours we reached W. Nefés, a large valley running north-west. As we followed this down it gradually broadened out, and the mountains became lower. After three and a half hours we left the bed of W. Nefés, which turned towards the west, and for fourteen hours continued to cross a succession of wadies, divided by tracts of stony desert and low ridges. Our water began to run short, and we had to travel by night as well as day. We saw large numbers of storks here. At length we halted on May 4th at midday, about ten miles south-east of Nukhl, in W. Tureifeh, and sent on our three camels for water and flour, having almost run out of both. The sun set, and our camels had not returned. I was left alone with Sheikh Nassâr, who began to suffer greatly from thirst. He spoke with difficulty, and asked me to keep a look out for the camels, as his eyes began to grow dim from feverishness produced by thirst; and yet I was not able to induce him to touch the little store of water which he had put aside for me. This was only one instance of his self-denial for my sake; and whenever we were in difficulties with regard to food and water, all my three Arabs insisted on reserving whatever there was for me, no matter how much they were suffering. I never had more cheery or faithful attendants. They were all, too, most anxious to give me all the information they possessed, and I never found them willingly misleading me. I cannot speak too highly of the character of the Towârah Arabs for honesty and faithfulness.

At half-past eight Selim arrived with water, and letters from Nukhl, and it turned out that the Egyptian soldiers at the Castle had impounded my camels, and only let them go when night set in and they found no more *bakshêesh* forthcoming.

On May 5th we had a high south wind and sand-storm. It was the most trying day I had, the thermometer in the shade standing at 102° at midday. Being Sunday we had intended to rest, but want of pasturage, in consequence of the drought and locusts, compelled us to move on to within three miles of Nukhl.

We were now in the country of the Tiyâhah tribe. I was much afraid lest some of the Tiyâhah should be at Nukhl, and claim their right to take me on, in which case I should have had to part with my Towârah Arabs. Fortunately, only one was there, and we managed to give him the slip, making our way past Nukhl by the bed of W. el Arish, whilst he, determined to catch us, must have passed within half a mile of us on his way to our camp in W. Turcifeh, which we had just left. We pushed on northwards, and he did not succeed in overtaking us.

Our course now lay north-east up W. el Arish. About three miles north of Nukhl its overflow forms a large alluvial plain, which continues more or less, I believe, to the mouth at the Mediterranean Sea. The real bed of the wady is small, and lies to the west of the alluvium, which appears to be a deposit from the drainage from neighbouring ranges of white chalk hills. Large tracts of it were ploughed up by the Arabs ready for sowing corn after the rain; and in many places I saw the stubble of last year's crop of maize, doura, or barley. The process of ploughing is very simple. A rope is tied to a stake about a foot from the bottom, and a camel being attached to the other end of the rope, the stake is drawn along the ground backwards and forwards, scratching up furrows about one and a half feet apart. In these the corn is sown after rain. Isolated mounds of the alluvium show that the bed of the wady has at some time been at least 15 feet higher than at present.

Wady el Arish, on receiving W. el Aggâbah, sweeps round to the west of J. Ikhrim, between that mountain and J. Yeleg (*not* west of J. Yeleg, as shown on Professor Palmer's and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake's map). It then flows to the east of Jebel Helál, and through the north of that mountain by a narrow gorge. I need not stop to describe my route by the east of J. Ikhrim, across W. Garaiyeh and Jebel Sheraif to W. Muweilah. Professor Palmer and others have already done so. One passes over a succession of wadies conveying the drainage from J. Mugráh to W. el Arish, all abounding with broom and desert herbage. All was dried up now, but in many spots the stones were thickly covered with lichen, which seemed to denote a considerable amount of damp, and vast quantities of white snail-shells (I have counted upwards of a hundred in one small shrub), tightly sealed to twigs or stones, were a sure sign that there must, during a great part of the year, be an abundant supply of succulent vegetation. There were also evident traces of volcanic action. J. Ikhrim appeared to consist of a disrupting core of igneous rock, which had displaced and thrown up the overlying strata of sandstone and limestone. Jebels Yeleg and Helal, as far as I could judge from the distance of a few miles, had been formed in the same manner, and probably the limestone cliff extending eastwards from Nakb el Fahdi,

and the long ridge of Jebel Sheraif had been thrown up by volcanic action. It is interesting to notice this in the probable vicinity of Kadesh Barnea, where the opening of the earth (caused doubtless by similar agency) swallowed up Korah and his company.

At Jebel Sheraif we again fell short of water, and turned westwards to the bed of W. el Arish in hopes of finding some pools of rain-water. In this we were not successful, but Zeid rode over to Hathirah, a basin in W. Helál, and obtained some there; but we had to pay for it. Thus I was reminded of Israel's offer to the Edomites at Kadesh: "If I and my cattle drink of thy water then I will pay for it" (Numbers xx. 19). There are six wells at Hathîrah; in five the water is bad, but in one very deep one, excellent. As we approached W. Muweilah we found large numbers of sand-grouse, and had it not been the breeding season we could have kept ourselves well supplied with game. We often saw gazelle in crossing the Tîh desert.

The head of W. Muweilah, which has been identified with "Bir-el-lahai-roy ("Hagar's Fountain"), forms a well-watered basin; and here and at W. Guseimeh, a little further on to the east, we found a number of Tiyâhâh Arabs watering their camels. They informed us that J. Mugrâh was the territory of the Hriwât Arabs, and not of the Azâzimeh as has always been stated; and they directed us to the principal camp of the Haiwât close at hand in W. el Ain. There we camped on May 11, and became their guests. A great dinner was at once organised in our honour, at which more than fifty sat down, and portions of bread, and boiled mutton, and *fat*, an Arab's chief luxury, were dealt out to each person by name by the skeikh, differing in quantity according to their rank and position. I had a portion of about three times as much as anybody else, and Arab manners compelled me to pocket what I could not eat; I was not allowed to give it to others. The meat and bread were not bad, but would have been more palatable to me if the sheikh's wife had left in less of the wool, and if I had had a cleaner plate than the skinny side of the sheep's-skin which formed the sheikh's great coat. However, I had an important bargain in view, so I tried to do justice to the feast, and to keep up the good impression which I had already created by dealing out before dinner with an ungrudging hand to my host and all his friends doses of Gregory's powder. I always found wherever I went that medicine was a sure way to a Bedouin's heart, and when my bottle of Gregory's powder was produced, almost everyone present took the opportunity of fortifying himself against some prospective, if not present, malady. And since gorging, whenever the opportunity occurs, is one of an Arab's commonest causes of illness, I could perform the office of doctor with an easy conscience. When, eleven years ago, I was leaving the Peninsula of Sinai after a walking tour of four months, Sâlim, who had been my constant companion, told me he feared that he was becoming blind. He had often lately been unable to see well. After asking him a few leading questions, I ventured to name certain places at which this blindness had occurred.

He threw up his arms, exclaiming "By Allah, you are a great doctor;" but looked heartily ashamed of himself when I pointed out that I had only named places at which we had stopped the day after I had bought a sheep or wild goat. He had literally eaten till he could not see. Well, after my dinner with the Haiwât, we proceeded to business, and in course of time, a bargain was made for an escort, consisting of the sheikh and seven Arabs, to accompany me on an expedition of five days to J. Mugrah, whilst my own Arabs stayed at their camp. *Sunday, May* 12, was a day of much-needed rest, but I walked some distance up W. el Ain, and ascended a mountain from which I obtained a splendid view of the surrounding country, and I saw clearly that Jebel Mugrah does not extend northwards in an unbroken line (as stated by Professor Palmer), but that a large plateau of a lower level intervenes between it and the mountains south of W. Marreh, and also that Jebel Mugrah breaks down to a lower level on the west in the same way, a lower range of mountains, through which W. Kadeis runs, intervening between the higher range and the basin formed by Wadies Jaifeh and Jerur. W. el Ain apparently takes its rise at J. Towâl el Fahm in the plateau north of J. Mugrâh, but I was unable to ascertain whether the name Ain Gudeirat is given to a spring which I saw a few miles up W. el Ain, or to one nearer the head of that valley. In W. el Ain and W. Kusuineh are found numerous ancient walls which in former times supported terraces of alluvial deposit. These are still sown with corn by the Arabs, but the walls are neglected, and when broken down by floods are not rebuilt. Thus everywhere around one sees the desert gaining ground from the neglect of the Bedouin, and large tracts of land, which in the old days were reclaimed, and must have been extremely fertile, are now barren. By the simple plan of laying lines of large stones, or building walls across the broad wady beds, an enormous tract of corn-growing land was, and might still be, obtained in this district. That it was once a busy centre of life is proved by the very large number of flint flakes and arrow heads that lie on the surface of the ground, and by the numerous ruins of walls and houses, or tombs, many being evidently of a very early date; and the size of the stones employed in the building called forth from my Arab the exclamation "that there must have been giants in those days."

On Monday, May 13, I started with my escort of eight Haiwât Arabs and one of my own Arabs for Jebel Mugrah. They were a wild set of fellows, fully armed, and evidently ready for any mischief, and not easily to be led, but having placed myself under their protection I was perfectly safe now, although it turned out that they were the very men into whose hands I had nearly fallen in the raid at W. Meleg, and who would then have readily stripped me of everything; and by Arab manners and custom they would have been quite as fully justified in doing so then as they were bound to be my protectors now. We struck southwards towards Wady Kadeis, but soon we met numbers of Arabs driving in their flocks and camels to escape a raid of the Maâzi that

were coming our way; and we heard that they had three raiding expeditions out, of 100, 200, and 400 men. The latter were expected to sweep round by W. Kadeis by the very road which we intended to take, so we stopped about two miles short of it, and concealed ourselves for the night in a corner under the mountain, sending out scouts, who in the morning reported that the raid had turned eastwards south of J. Mugrah, but that they had carried off a number of Haiwât camels, and that there had been a fight in which five men had been killed and seven wounded; news which greatly excited my Arabs and lost me much valuable time, for they stopped on every opportunity to discuss it.

On the 14th we ascended W. Kadeis, its bed is rocky, but affords a fair road. At Ain Kadeis, about two miles up it, there are four springs, about 40 yards apart from each other, three on the mountain side and one in the bed of the wady. From the lower one of the former there flows a good stream of water down the wady for about 100 yards, forming pools where the Arabs water their goats. The upper spring is built round with large stones to a depth of about 5 feet, and there is a rude trough here and at the lower spring. There is another deeper well under a rock about 50 yards higher up the wady, surrounded by rudely-built troughs. We followed up the wady to its head. It is rocky and narrow, but contains occasional terraces and ruins. A very steep path led us over a pass into the higher range, and we descended into W. Harâsheh, which runs northwards to W. Hanein. On the following day we continued to ascend W. Harâsheh and entered the rocky basin which forms the head of W. Lussan; this wady drains the southern portion of J. Mugrâh, and has several branches, all known to my Arabs by the one name. When one has mounted it, Jebel Mugrah no longer presents the flat-topped appearance that it does from a distance, but consists of rounded limestone hills covered with herbage. There are many ruins and terraces formed by walls in the mountain basins, and large number of flint flakes are generally to be found near the ruins. I was astonished at the fertility of the ground, and saw corn growing in several places.

On the east Jebel Mugrâh only extends to about lat. 35°. Here it terminates abruptly in a steep cliff, and is separated from J. Jerâfeh (a high mountain to the south of Palmer's W. Jerâfeh) by a broad, gently-sloping valley, to which the Haiwât Arabs gave the name of Ras W. Garaiyeh. A good road leads from it into W. Jerâfeh, known by the name of "Sikket el Gôm," because it is the road usually taken by raiding parties from the east. There appeared also to be a road leading northwards to W. Rámán to the broad caravan road followed from the north by Palmer; and this, I think, may be the old road from Kadesh which was known to the Israelites as "the way of the spies."

Kadesh Barnea, if not at W. Kadeis, may probably be placed near the south-east base of J. Mugrâh in Ras W. Garaiyeh, which formed, perhaps, the western boundary of Edom. I regret extremely that I was unable to descend into this valley and thoroughly explore it, but nothing would

induce my Arabs to accompany me; and, being short of food and water, we were forced to return by W. Lussan. I hoped still to get round to the southern face of J. Mugrâh by J. Araif, but my Arabs would not go; and on ascending the peak which stands at the south-east corner of J. Mugrâh, I saw that a broken tract of low mountain lies to the south of it, which would have rendered a rapid inspection impossible. We returned on the fifth day to the Haiwât camp by a rocky and difficult pass leading from W. Lussân to W. Jaifeh, to the east of J. Meraifig, which certainly was not the route of the Israelites. The only other road runs much further to the west.

I started to return to Egypt that same afternoon, May 17th.

Descending Wady Muweilah, we reached W. el Arish, near the base of J. Helal. I then saw what a very bad road this wady afforded, owing the alluvium, which formed its bed, having been worn into a series of deep and irregular ridges and furrows. We were nearly an hour in crossing it, and to follow it down to the Mediterranean, as I had intended, would have been almost impossible. Besides, my three Towârah Arabs were loud in their praises of a direct road to Ismailia, well-watered and good, which I at once saw must have been a very important one in olden days when Petra was a flourishing city, and the Negeb, or "south country" of the Bible was a thickly inhabited and cultivated country, as I had seen clearly that it formerly was. So I determined to explore this road. Skirting the south of J. Helal, we reached on the second day W. Hásana, a large wady running northward and to the west of J. Helal. Here are three wells built round with masonry, and with several curious round water-troughs, which looked as if they had been formed out of old columns. There were a large number of Terabin Arabs here watering their camels. They were much inclined to be troublesome, and to claim the right to take me on; but again my bottle of Gregory's Powder served me well, and by numerous doses I soon created a favourable opinion. I was much amused with one of my patients, who carried off a store for future use. He left me after making, as I thought, *every possible* inquiry as to the manner and time of taking his medicine; but he returned shortly to say that he had forgotten to ask me one *most* important question—"Was he to take it through his mouth or through his nose?"

On leaving W. Hásana we crossed some low chalk hills lying to the north of J. Yeleg, having on our right a large plain sloping northwards, and having before us a long mountain range called Jebel Mughârah, between which and Jebel Yeleg runs W. Dôw towards the north-east. Crossing this we reached "Emshash," a group of seventeen wells. One only was built up with stone from the bottom, the coping-stones being deeply worn by ropes. Most of the wells had fallen in. The water was not good. After filling our water-skins Nassar descended the well for a wash—a process not calculated to improve the water for the next comers. How many had done the same before him? It was well not to ask. We now ascended a steep slope, on which were situated some old round

tombs, and entered the Mughârah range. Both J. Yeleg and J. Mughârah stretched westwards as far as I could see, and the intervening valley was said to have near its head another group of wells, like "Emshâsh," called "El Jidy." Near these ran a road to Suez. A long ascent by W. Mughârah brought us to the watering-place which gives this name to the mountain. It is now a dirty water-hole, but around it are massive foundations of masonry, and probably it was once arched over, the arch suggesting to the Arabs the name Mughârah, or cave. There were many ruins of round houses, or namûs, near, and opposite the water-hole a square building, about 30 feet by 20 feet, built of roughly-hewn stones without mortar. The interior was a heap of stones. Around the water-hole were twelve remarkably large watering-troughs, built of rude masonry.

We next crossed a wild pass, the road running northwards along the natural shelves of hard crystalline limestone, polished like marble in many places by the camels' feet.

This led us into W. Mutlâhah, in which were many fine seyal-trees; and again turning westwards we entered W. Hathâyib, a large basin, with cornfields. There were many Arabs of the Aîaîdeh tribe here, and as they seemed inclined to be troublesome, as soon as it was dark we slipped on past their camp, and, crossing J. Hathâyib, travelled on till midnight. On lighting a fire to make bread more Arabs soon appeared, and we had again, as they left with the intention apparently of bringing up others to stop us, to pack up our things and move on during the night. Our course continued due west over a rolling plateau with many sand-drifts, which increased as we approached the Isthmus of Suez. There were few points of interest on the road. The district through which we first passed after crossing J. Hathâyib was called Elloo; and about half way across the plateau was a prominent ridge, on which was situated a large group of namûs, and near them I found a great number of flint-flakes and several beautifully-made arrow-heads. The whole way, wherever there were no sand-drifts, the ancient road could be traced by these flint-flakes.

We were very short both of water and food, and pushed on as fast as possible; and early on Thursday morning, May 23rd, we arrived at Ismailia.

Thus ended my journey. I failed to accomplish *all* that I had hoped to do, but I believe that I have succeeded in fixing satisfactorily the route of the Israelites northwards from Mount Sinai. I have also thrown some additional light upon the position of Kadesh and the boundary of Edom; and, although I was unable to follow Brugsch Bey's proposed route of the Israelites out of Egypt, I have discovered an ancient road to Egypt from the east, which must formerly have been one of very great importance, and is of great interest to the Biblical student. There can be little doubt that it was the road followed by Abraham and Lot in their journeys to and from Egypt.

I have at least done my best to add to our knowledge of a most interesting country. The drought and the raids were against me, but in

the space of eight weeks I walked upwards of a thousand miles, at least one-third of that distance being over ground previously unexplored; and I have proved, I think, that any future traveller who will rough it a little, and has a slight knowledge of Arabic and Arab manners and customs, may easily follow my steps, and that there is a most interesting district within easy reach which still needs careful exploration, and which will, I hope, before long receive the attention of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

THE FELLAHHEEN OF PALESTINE.

Notes on the Chief Traits in their Character, their Faults, and their Virtues.

By Mrs. Finn.

The Bedaween have a saying—

"El Medeny maidat ed-duniah,
El Fellâhh khamâr ed-dunieh,
El Bedawy Sultân ed-dunieh"
"The townsman is the table of the world (provider),
The peasant is the donkey of the world (menial),
The Bedawy is the Sultan of the world (ruler)."

But the Fellahheen give a different version, and retort, saying:—

"What is the townsman? The Sultan of the world.

"What is the Fellahh? The donkey of the world.

"What is the Bedawy? The dog of the world, for he snatches from everybody; but nobody dares to snatch from him."

"What have we to do with thee, thou father of cabbages!" was the contemptuous speech made by a Bedawy to the Fellahh sheikh of a village near Bethlehem. And yet the Bedawy had in all probability never tasted a cabbage in his life, or even so much as had one in his hand

One day an acquaintance came to us with the following tale:—

"Fâtimeh tells me that there has been a robbery in her village, and that they called in a Bedawy to find out the thief.

"He heated an iron and branded the tongue of every man, woman, and child, telling them that the tongue of the thief would swell, and that he would then make him pay the value of the theft.

"All their tongues swelled, and he made them pay the money among them!"

But the woman did not perceive the joke of the thing, though she told it of her people.

The Bedaween often outwit the Fellaheen, whom they utterly despise. A story is told on this point how that once a Bedawy and a Fellahh arrived at the same village as guests and repaired to the Sahha. Supper was put before them, and the Bedawy observed that it was only enough for one. He accordingly engaged the Fellahh in talk, asking, "What presents do you give to the bride at a Fellahh wedding?"

"What presents? why we give a silk robe, and a cotton robe, and silver ornaments; and then we give so much in money to the father, and so much to the brothers, and so much to the uncles and aunts."

By the time that he had got to the uncles and aunts he perceived that the Bedawy had eaten up three-quarters of the supper, so he in his turn asked the Bedawy what they give the bride at a Bedawy wedding.

The Bedawy replied, bluntly, "A tōb (robe), a veil, a necklace, and a headdress," and continued eating till all was finished, leaving the Fellahh still very hungry, and done out of his supper.

But the Fellahheen also retort upon the Bedaween. They tell how a Bedawy coming to a village one evening in the summer, entered the guest-chamber, and how among other things for supper they set before him the fruit then in season—namely, prickly pears, which he had never seen before. But in mockery of his ignorance of civilised usages and of the ordinary productions of nature in cultivated districts, they did not shell the prickly pears, but left them in the husk, all covered as they are with innumerable sharp thorns.

The Bedawy, suspecting nothing, took up and ate the fruit as he was accustomed to eat cucumbers, which he had seen before, after which his hosts asked how he liked them. "God be praised for them! they are very refreshing," said the Bedawy, "only the hair upon them is rather sharp, it is rougher than the hairs on cucumbers, and it sticks to my tongue and smarts!"

The Fellahh lads who tend the flocks are often brutishly ignorant. They are out all day, from early dawn, with their charge, and come home late only to eat and go to sleep. They have no one, excepting, perhaps, another shepherd like themselves, to talk to day after day and month after month. They take a little bread in their scrip, and with that and milk from their goats or sheep they are sufficiently fed. When milk is plentiful they will sometimes make cheese or curds and whey for themselves, milking one of the flock into the leather *jurâbeh*, or scrip (often made of a kid skin), or into the leather bucket which they carry for drawing water for the sheep. The acrid sap of the fig-tree (white and milky) is added to curdle the milk. They also know what roots and leaves are good to be eaten among the plants that grow wild among the mountains, and in early summer they get partridge eggs among the standing corn, or young doves and pigeons in the old empty rock cisterns.

A Fellahh lad on being asked how old he was, replied, "You know the red cow? Her grandmother gave birth to her mother three days before I was born." And this was all the account he could give of himself.

We saw another lad who, on being asked his name, said he did not know. "Don't know your name! Why, what do men call when they want you to come? what do they say?"

"They say Hō! hō!" was all the answer we could get from the boy.

And yet in some things that boy was sharp enough. These shepherd lads are no mean adepts in the arts of wrestling, running,

slinging stones, and throwing at a mark. They will often hit even small birds on the wing with stones. They can make reed pipes, and play them skilfully. Some make similar pipes, larger and prettily ornamented, out of the large pinion bones of the common vulture (rookhameh) and other birds. When they grow tall enough to sling a gun at their backs, they often carry one, and become very fair shots. They also know every bit of ground, every hill, valley, rock, plain, or spring within their own district. Above all, these shepherd lads are skilful in the simple rough surgery needed by the sheep or goats which may get hurt during the pasturing over the rough ground upon the mountains. It is not uncommon for an animal to get jammed among the rocks, or to fall, and thus break a leg. The shepherds are proverbially excellent bone-setters, making splints out of any chance bit of wood, and binding the limb up with perhaps a rag torn off their own garments.

The townspeople amuse themselves by laughing at the stupidity of the Fellahheen. They say that if a Fellahh be asked, "Which is thy left ear?" he will raise his right arm over his head, and feeling downwards lay hold of his left ear and say, "Here!" not having the wit to put up his left hand to it.

One day a Fellahh had bought a pair of new shoes in Jerusalem, and was returning home towards Beit Jâla. On coming to a rough bit of road he took his shoes off to save them, but presently knocked his foot against a stone and hurt it, on which he exclaimed, "What a good thing it is that my shoe was not on my foot; it might have had a hole knocked in it with that blow!" The Bethlehemites look down on the people of Beit Jâla (their opposite neighbours) as being far less sharp than themselves. The Fellahheen generally treat themselves to smart new red shoes for some great festival, on the eve of which one may see them going along the high road from Jerusalem to their own village dangling the new shoes by a string from one hand. We have sometimes seen a large pair for the father and a little pair for each of his children thus carried.

Another town story at their expense is the following:—A Fellahh was one day pruning his vine, and managed to cut his hand. He got angry with the pruning-hook, and threw it away up over his head. Looking up after it to see where it would fall, it came down into his eye and struck it out. "Thou wretched thing! is it not enough that thou hast cut my hand, but thou must pick my eye out also?" and so saying, he trod upon it in a rage and cut his foot. On this he flung it away in terror as far as he could, and took refuge behind the broad trunk of a fig-tree. On seeing his wife coming, he cried out to her to "Beware of the pruning-hook, lest it come and wound thee also!"

The men of Dair-es-Sinneh, above Siloam, are proverbial for their stupidity, and the other Fellahheen tell stories about them such as the following:—One of these men was going out of the Gate of the Tribes (St. Stephen's Gate) on his way towards Siloam, with five asses, which

he was driving before him. After passing out of the gate he mounted one of his asses, and so rode down the hill. At Sitti Mariam, in the bottom, he stopped and counted the asses before him. There were but four. He turned back to Jerusalem to look for the fifth (which he was riding). At the gate he dismounted, drove in his asses to the open space within, and counted them. They were all right, five in number. Rejoicing, he turned back again to go home, and mounted again outside the gate. Arrived at Sitti Mariam, in the valley, he again counted his beasts; but lo! as before, there were but four. Again he went back to Jerusalem, dismounted at the gate, drove in his donkeys, counted them at the same place. They were five! This happened several times. At last he said, "By the life of my son! it is better for me to walk and have five donkeys than to ride having only four!" And with that he walked home, driving his five asses before him.

Another Fellahh of Dair-es-Sinneh is said to have climbed up a beanstalk, and got up to the moon. After walking about and seeing all that was to be seen there, he wished to come down; but his beanstalk was broken, and he could not reach it. So he pulled a bit of cord out of his pocket, and let himself down by that. But it was not long enough to reach the beanstalk, so he took out his knife and began cutting a piece from the top to join it on at the bottom, in order to lengthen it!

Stupid as the Fellahheen seem, however, and stupid as they often undoubtedly are, it is rather from want of cultivation than from lack of natural intelligence. We found them very capable of instruction, especially when young; and they are amenable to discipline, provided that strict justice governs the treatment they receive.

Some of them are clever in culture of the fig-tree, olive, and the vine, as also in managing field-crops and vegetables. They can be made excellent labourers and builders. They are idle in their own villages, chiefly from want of sufficient motive for exertion; but if the opportunity of earning wages is put in their way, they work steadily and well, provided that the amount of pay is made to depend upon their industry. A fine for idleness is the most sure preventive, and it rarely needs to be repeated.

The apparent stupidity of the Fellahheen may be explained by one of their own stories, to the effect that it is "All of no use talking to people of things which they have no sense to understand:"—

"Said the ass to the camel one day, 'How is it that with thy long legs and head so high up, thou never stumblest over stones, while I, with my little legs and eyes near the ground, am always stumbling?'

"'That,' replied the camel, 'is because I am always looking forward. I look out ahead for what's coming.'

"'Oh, dear!' replied the ass, 'that is quite beyond my comprehension.'"

The Fellahheen are sharp enough in all matters that come within their own range of observation, and they are very shrewd in what concerns their own interests—so far as they understand them. They have

an excellent retentive memory. It is scarcely too much to say that they never forget anything, and they are quick of apprehension in matters upon which their faculties have been exercised, even while utterly stupid in others. They have the character of being avaricious, and certainly they are fond of money. We often observed that wherever Fellahheen were congregated, the counting of money or calculating of gains might be heard. Indeed, it was almost certain that if we happened to overtake two of them upon the road, or sitting by the wayside, their talk would be of money. They spend very little of their gains, and hoard up the rest in some secret place, which is not often revealed by them before they die. Their money is usually buried in some out-of-the-way place in the ground, or in some old ruin. There can be no doubt that, when Palestine comes to be fully cultivated, many of these stores of hidden cash will be discovered. Sometimes a Fellahh will lend out at interest a part of his savings, exacting from 50 to 100 per cent. interest. A Fellahh will not part with his money if he can help it, and will endure imprisonment and stripes in order to escape payment of Government taxes. We saw many instances of this; and a story is told of one of the Ibn Simhhân people, who was brought into Jerusalem to pay his arrears of taxes long due to the Turkish Government. He declared that he had no money; but this was unlikely, the family of Simhhân being well-to-do. Imprisonment produced no effect upon him, and the governor ordered him to be bastinadoed. He was laid down, and the cobaj was applied to his feet. One hundred strokes were borne, and he would not yield; two hundred, three, four, five, and six hundred were in vain; and it was not until he had suffered seven hundred strokes that he gave way, and, loosening the girdle he was wearing, took out of it the sum of 2,000 piastres (about £20), and paid it to the governor. He had borne all the pain of so fearful a beating in the hope of being able to carry his money back home again.

The Fellahheen have naturally far more gravity and dignity than the Syrians of the towns. They have also less of the conceit and vanity for which the townspeople, especially those on the sea-coast and in the north, are remarkable. Indeed, it is not difficult to detect a radical difference on these points between the town Syrians and the Fellahheen.

The town Syrians, moreover, have a certain *legèreté* and fickleness, with vivacity, which are not common to the Fellahheen, or even to the dwellers in the southern towns, where the Fellahh and the Arab elements predominate rather than the Syrian or the Greek. In manner, in address, in turn of expression and thought, in idiom, in the very mode of putting on the garments, these differences are apparent.

The character of the Fellahh is, in short, much nearer to that of the Arab than to that of the Syro-Greek. They are excitable, and appear quarrelsome to those who do not know them. They mingle so much gesticulation with their speech that a stranger often supposes a deadly fight to be imminent, if not actually going on, when he sees a group of eager Fellahheen vociferating at each other, cursing, it may be, and

swinging their arms about as if to knock each other down. (They never use their fists, and do not know how to do so; a blow with the open palm is all they ever do in striking with the hand, and this they call *keff*, the exact equivalent of our "cuff.") The accidental falling off of a turban in the midst of the uproar gives strength to the idea that all this means mischief, and that the short swords in their belts and the long guns at their backs will soon be brought into action. When, behold! a word has been spoken by one of the disputants, calm is suddenly restored, gravity and self-possession take the place of furious excitement, and in a few moments more the party separate, after exchanging the salutations of peace.

The word that was spoken with this purpose and intent may simply have been the customary salutation, "May God give thee a good morning" (or "evening" if spoken after noon), gravely uttered while stroking the beard, with a steadfast look at the person whose excitement is at its height. This greeting has, of course, been given before at the first meeting, and it has been reciprocated as usual by the person now addressed. Nevertheless, it now acts as a charm. He stops his furious gesticulation, and responds, "May He give thee a hundred good mornings." The wish interposed may have been, "May God lengthen thy life!" The effect is the same; a pause for reflection is secured while the appropriate compliment is returned. Or if real anger has been displayed, one will exclaim, "*Ya, Ibrahim* (or whatever the name may be), *edhkor Rubbak*" ("Oh, Ibrahim, remember (bethink thee of) thy Lord!") The rebuke is meekly taken, and the response given, "*Yehhya dhikerbro wa 'yedoom*" ("May the remembrance of Him live and remain"). Or it may be that the reprover will say "*Allel.*" The other will then reply, "*La ila illa Allah*," &c., the formula of faith, "There is no God but God," &c. Sometimes a man finding himself getting angry, and inclined to use offensive epithets, will check himself, and repeat the "Oh, Ali (or whatever the name may be), may Allah give thee a good morning!"

"*Sally-an-Neby,*" ("Pray in the name of the Prophet" Mohammed), is another of the phrases by which angry men are calmed; and the reply is given with the wish, *Alai es-Salaam wa es-Salla.*" "Upon him be peace. and through him is prayer" [made].

There is little or nothing among this people of what we call *fun*. They understand jokes, or rather humour, of a certain kind; but they cannot bear to be laughed at. Irony and sarcasm they can comprehend, and they themselves use both. "*Mashallah! huwa âkil!*" ("Wonderful!") —(literally, "What hath God wrought!") "He is a sensible fellow!" is an exclamation one may hear if a workman blunders in his task, and a mocking laugh will accompany the speech, adding pungency to the rebuke. Even the women, who are in some respects less intelligent, because less versed in the ways of the world, can appreciate humour, and be influenced by it.

The Siloam women commonly supply Jerusalem with milk, and are

very fond of mixing as much water with it as they can without detection. The woman who brought us our milk had, however, gone too far, and the milk was so thin and blue that our patience failed.

"Oh, mother of Ahhmet!" said I to her one morning, "I want to speak with thee."

"Be pleased to speak, O lady."

"Milk is good, and water is good. Allah made both of them, but we don't like them mixed; henceforth bring us thy milk in one jar and thy spring water in another, that we may drink them separately." The woman listened, considered a moment, broke into a smile, and said "*Taib*" ("Good, oh lady"). From that day forward we had milk pure and good from her. When the children or their elders in a strange place importuned us for Backsheesh, we could generally turn the laugh upon them, in which they would join, by holding out our hand and saying, "No; it is you who ought to give us backsheesh for our trouble in coming here."

The Fellahheen do not easily or commonly laugh, except in scorn. In this they resemble the Arabs. They are keenly alive to ridicule. To tell an old man that he has behaved as a child, to say that "his intelligence is small compared with the whiteness of his beard," is in effect to have administered a most stinging rebuke; a similar reproof to a young man, "child" (for they still, as of old, call grown-up young men "child" in familiar and endearing, as well as in contemptuous, phrase), would be to say to him, "*Yn waled istahhy*" "Oh, child, be shamefaced!" ("Be modest;" "Don't presume;" or "Be ashamed," the phrase means all three).

The Fellahheen have been supposed by some to be devoid of humour. It is true that in some districts they are more stolid and stupid than in others; yet there is no part of the country in which witty proverbs, sententious sayings, and humorous parables are not understood and welcomed; a happy hit, a clever retort, a bit of retribution cleverly devised, will sometimes do more than force could in mastering a troublesome Fellahh. We found their sense of humour to be keen. There is true perception of wit in the retort, when two men, of whom one was thoroughly inferior, were compared with each other: "Truly they both have large eyes; but yet there *is* a difference between a hawk and an owl." And in the remark on the use of adversity, "Nothing will get oil out of an olive but crushing it;" and even in the words used to admit ignorance, when replying to the question; "How old is that tree?" "Praise be to Him who (alone) knoweth." Their epithets or descriptions of men are often very witty. "That priest of yours, a span and a half high," was the description of a European cleric, very short in stature, and more nimble than dignified in his gait. Aboo Nadarāt, "the father of spectacles, whose eyes nobody sees," was the description of another European whose dark spectacles were generally believed to be worn to hide his countenance and expression of face rather than because his eyes were weak.

"Hah! hah!" cried some children in Safet one day, as they ran after

a European whose chin was shaven, while he wore a full moustache and whiskers. "Hah! hah! there goes the Frank who cuts a hole out of the middle of his beard!"

Proverbs are in use all day long; they think in proverbs, and speak in them, and invent fresh ones, pithy and to the purpose, without the slightest effort.

The Fellahheen are often very clever at understanding hidden allusions and enigmatical sayings.

A man once came to his friend Ibn Hhanna and asked his mediation with the father of a girl whom he wished to marry. But the friend, not being particularly desirous of furthering the matter, and knowing moreover that the would-be bridegroom was unusually thick-headed, gave him the following message to the girl's father, Ahhmed Moosa: "Ibn Hhanna salaams thee and says to thee, 'Look at a she-goat; but let her milk alone.'"

The man went, gave the message, and returned, saying, "Ahhmed Moosa salutes thee, and says, *Ala râsy*" ("Upon my head be it"—*i.e.*, "I will obey").

"Very well," said his friend, "then go home and wait till he sends for thee," which he did, but was *not* sent for, the girl's father having understood the message to mean, "Look at this man; but do not negotiate with him or accept his gifts." The Fellahheen are crafty and ingenious in stratagem, quick also in detecting or guessing the devices of others; but this, of course, only in matters to which they are accustomed. They are excessively cautious and even suspicious in their dealings with strangers, and rarely, if ever, give a direct answer to a question.

"Art thou going home, Ibrahim?"

"Why? does my lord require anything?"

"No, but art thou going home?"

"I will take a message to the sheikh of my village; he is in the bazaar to-day."

"I have no message for the sheikh of thy village, oh Ibrahim; but I do want to know if thou art going home."

"Wherever my lord pleases to send me, there will I go," and so on, *ad infinitum;* but no direct answer. A question is almost invariably met by another question. A Fellahh, if met on the high road and asked, "Whence comest thou?" will answer, "From behind," and thus avoid giving information; and to the further query, "Where goest thou?" answers, "Ala Bab Allah" ("To the gate of God" [whither God pleases"], or "According as God may open the way".) This habit of evasion is inborn, and is practised by the veriest infants, who can but lisp out the question, "*Lais?*" (for "*Laish?*" Why?").

Insolence in time of prosperity, and where government is weak, is a common fault of the Fellahheen.

The Fellahh servant of one of our friends being about to be married, bade his master to the wedding, which was to take place at his village, where the famous Abd en Neby was sheikh.

This sheikh was, like all others of his district (in the Hebron country), noted for his hospitality to guests, and the wedding was a very gay one, being attended by sheikhs and people from all the country round. One of the chief guests had put on a new *aba* (mantle) of fine black camlet in honour of the occasion. According to custom, everybody on observing this new garment saluted the wearer with the word "*Mobârak*" ("May it be blessed"). To each one the customary reply was made, "*El Habaleh b'yedak*" ("Its halter is in thy hand"), which is equivalent to saying, "It is at your service." Another guest, very greatly his inferior in rank, but who from private motives was seeking a quarrel, pressed forward with the salutation, and on receiving the answering compliment as above, said, insolently, and to the amazement of the assembled sheikhs, "*Kabbaltuha*" ("I have accepted it"), a reply only made by a great man to his inferior in such circumstances, to show his gracious acceptance of the proposed gift as an act of becoming homage.

But custom required that the garment be forthwith handed over, unless the wearer had chosen to mar the festivities by saying, "Come and take it by force," which would involve a combat for life or death. He therefore simply said, "For the honour of our host, Sheikh Abd en-Neby," and taking it off his shoulders gave it to the man, who instantly put it on, saying, defiantly, "If he and two hundred men at his back were to try, he should not have it again." That man was then seeking to compass the death of the other, and he accomplished his purpose some months afterwards—not openly, for he was a boastful coward, and the other was known for his skill and prowess, but by paying others to do treacherously what he himself dared not to attempt. He had an ambush set and his victim murdered by hired assassins. One of the men concerned in the deed, not as actor, but as spectator, had been the night before actually eating with the victim. On hearing what had happened, the poor Fellahh woman who had cooked their supper, and who was much attached to the murdered man, bewailed herself, beating her breast and crying, "Woe is me! woe is me! I left out the salt by mistake when making the bread last night for their supper. Oh, that I had put it in, then would not that Abdallah have dared to let my lord be murdered in his presence; he would have been compelled to defend him after eating his bread and his salt. Woe is me! Woe is me!" And she spoke in accordance with universal custom in respect of the sanctity of of life after a meal where people have eaten bread and salt together.

The sheikhs of that man's tribe offered to give him up to justice, but intrigue was at work to screen and hide the criminals, and their offer was not accepted by the responsible authorities (who were not all either Turks or Arabs).

Among the faults of the Fellahheen lying is one of the greatest and most common. They certainly can appreciate truth-telling in others, and even admire it, but can scarcely utter anything but lies themselves. To lie skilfully is considered a very great and useful accomplishment; the merest infants practise it as soon as they can speak. "A man who

does not tell lies is like meat without salt." And even the Fellahheen of Christian villages are almost as bad as their Moslem country-folk in this respect.

"Why didst thou tell that falsehood?" was asked one day of a Bethlehem Christian woman.

"Oh, lady," she replied, "thou knowest the *a'adeh* (custom) of us Fellahheen is to tell lies."

"But what, then, is thy religion, is it Fellahh or is it Christian?"

"Christian; but lieing is our custom."

"Where, then, is your honour" (*sharaf*)?

She laughed. "We have no honour."

But there is a proverb that shows that the difference between truth and falsehood is understood. When a very wonderful tale is told, the hearers will contemptuously ejaculate, "*Kizb*" (a lie)!

"How dost thou know that it is a lie?"

"*Min kuburho*" ("From its bigness"), is the ready response.

Some villages have an evil reputation for untruth, or, as the natives put it, "The people of so-and-so are not good, their tongue is long."

Stealing, in the sense of petty pilfering, is another common fault described in the same fashion. "So-and-so is not good, her hand (or arm) is long." But pilfering is commoner among the Moslems than among the Christian Fellahheen. And indeed we found many of the Bethlehem Christians, especially the women, to be scrupulously honest, not even taking little portions of food for their children, a kind of pilfering which is considered quite lawful by people who would on no account take any valuable article or money from their employers.

Stealing cattle is considered a very grave offence, to be atoned for only by returning fourfold in case of a sheep, and fivefold in case an ox has been stolen.

Some villages have a much worse reputation than others for thieving. Siloam used to be considered one of the worst; also the village of Esawiyeh, north-east of Olivet.

The Moslem Fowagris of Bethlehem always had a very bad reputation in this respect. Indeed one quarter of the town of Bethlehem, inhabited by one of the two Moslem clans. was known as a perfect nest of robbers. Abbo er Rummān and his son, Selâmeh, with the chief of their clan at Bethlehem, Sheikh Salim Shakhtoor, were among the ringleaders, and they were many of them desperate and villainous men. In league with these was Hamin Hadoob and others, of Jerusalem, and some of the Siloam folk. They robbed the peasantry on the road or in the villages, as well as pilgrims or travellers, or people living in Jerusalem. Nothing came amiss to them in the way of plunder, and they did not stop short of murder when it suited their ends.

In former years there were other notorious thieves, one of whom, Saadeh, was at last, after being often taken, and escaping only to renew his depredations, caught and hanged on a tree outside the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem by the Government.

In years gone by Sabbuhh Shokeh, sheikh of the other clan of Fowagri Moslems of Bethlehem, was as great a thief and robber as the people of Salim Shakhtoor still are.

There is a story of Sheikh Sabbuhh joining Khalâweh of Urtas in sundry midnight marauding expeditions. The favourite amusement of at least part of a night thus spent by robbers is to steal one or more sheep from some flock out with its shepherd in the open country. A Fellahh will think nothing of throwing a sheep over his shoulders and running off with it, while his companions engage the shepherd either in fighting or in pursuit on a false scent. The thieves meet at their rendezvous, where the sheep is soon killed, flayed, and roasted whole in a pit dug in the earth, and the party feast upon their ill-gotten booty before returning to their own villages. Of course, when the shepherds are vigilant, and have firearms, they can and do offer successful resistance; but sometimes they are killed by the thieves, who are also armed with sword and gun.

The shepherds, when they lose a sheep or a goat by death, are always expected to bring at least the ears to the owner, if the distance be too great for them to carry the whole carcass; and thus to prove that they have not themselves slain and eaten of his flock.

The two men above mentioned had been out one night, and had been stealing sheep and other trifles. They were near the high road from Jaffa where it passes through the village of Aboo Gosh, and falling in with a camel carrying up to Jerusalem a load of calico for market, they stopped it, and, unloading the beast, each of them carried off half the calico on his back to a convenient hiding-place, whence they could get it safely off to their respective villages unobserved.

On another occasion Sabbuhh Shokeh, by way of bravado, said to his companion, as they were returning home at daybreak after a night of robbery, that he would carry home a hand corn-mill of stone on his shoulders. Presently the sound was heard of a woman, who was up with the dawn, grinding the corn for her family baking. Sabbuhh told his companion to wait outside, and, walking into the cottage, he saluted her with a "Good morning."

"Who art thou?" said she, not liking his looks.

"A guest," replied he; and perceiving that there were two corn-mills, he asked her which was the best one.

She said, "This one which I am using."

Without further ado he lifted it, heavy as it was, on his shoulder, and got clear off before she could awaken her husband.

A man from Beit Safâfa hid his money in a cave near Mar Elias. On the top he put a shoemaker's hammer with his own mark, in order that should any one find and steal the money, it might be the means of convicting them. Two young fellows, great rogues, having stolen two sheep one day, went into this cave to kill them; and wishing to hide the heads and feet and offal, dug a hole for that purpose, and thus they came on the jar containing the money. They took the money, and for

mischief filled it instead with the offal, burying the heads and feet in another hole. As for the shoemaker's hammer, they being as clever as the owner of the money, flung that away on the high road. Here it was picked up by another man, a stranger, who sold it in Jerusalem to a shoemaker. The owner of the money, on visiting the cave, found something less than money in his jar. He went immediately to the city, and examined the hammers in the shoemakers' shops. He found his own hammer. "Where did you get this hammer?" "From so-and-so." The latter was then arrested and taken to prison for the robbery; but he proved his innocence. "I heard of the case," said our informant, "and suspected the real thieves, and questioned them. They gave evasive answers. 'Why do you trouble yourself about such affairs?' 'That doesn't concern you.' I was satisfied they were the thieves, but could not bring it home to them. Two or three days after they, in their turn, were accused of something of which they were innocent, and had to spend eight or nine thousand in bribery to get clear. 'Well,' said I, when I next saw them, 'what became of all your money?' They laughed, and said, 'The winds brought it, and the whirlwind carried it off' (a common proverb, answering to 'Lightly come, lightly go'). The other said, 'Surely it was better not to have to spend one's own money in bribes. If it must be spent, let it be another's.'"

It is remarkable to find that truth, honesty, and honour can be thoroughly appreciated by people with whom lying and theft are so common.

The "English word" was synonymous among the Fellahheen for truth, and they were convinced of the integrity of English people. Of this we had innumerable instances, and of the way in which they would trust the simple word of an Englishman. "Cease bargaining," a peasant in the bazaar would say; "I have given the English word; I won't alter it."

They would also trust us with their goods and animals, having no doubt as to failure of payment.

One of our people, a European, was going to Jaffa on business, having with him an officer in Turkish service, whose horse fell lame, and he dismounted, giving the officer his horse, and walked on across the plain. Meeting a Fellahh, a stranger, who was well mounted, he asked him to let him hire his horse.

The Fellahh replied, "Good! I can trust a Frank; but I shall want fifteen piastres."

"You shall have fifteen piastres, but where shall I leave your horse? Come you and meet me at the gate of Jaffa."

The Fellahh agreed without a word more, dismounted, and allowed the Frank stranger to ride off on his horse, who, of course, duly met and paid him afterwards as agreed.

We have known horses taken in the same way when standing for hire in the city, with only a message to the owner through some bystander. So complete was the faith in the horse being returned, and the proper

hire paid, that the owners were pleased to have their beasts thus used, and would come to the house named for their pay.

Cursing and swearing are lamentably common among the Fellahheen. The children utter imprecations almost before they can speak. Oaths are mingled with the most ordinary talk. Simple "yes" and "no" are unknown, and affirmations are always accompanied by an appeal to God or the Prophet, or both.

It is not according to the idiom of the language to say "Yes," "No," as in English. The usual form of an affirmative reply is the repetition of part of the question. "Is Ibrahim running?—He is running." "Has he brought his camel?—He has brought him." But if "Yes" were said it would be combined with an oath. "*Eiwa-ei-wallah*" ("Yes, by God"). "No" is more common than "Yes," and is often expressed by a significant click of the tongue, with a toss up of the head and eyelids. But "No" is also more commonly and decidedly expressed by a negation of the question: "Has Ali come?—He has not come." A very emphatic negative is usually preceded or followed by a sonorous "*Wallahi*" ("By Allah").

False swearing is another most common vice among the Fellahheen. For a few pence a man will come forward as witness and swear anything that is desired of him. A case had been tried in the Pasha's Turkish court at the Seraglio, in which two Fellahheen were in litigation. After the proceedings were over, a friend of ours was riding along the Bethlehem road, and the man who had won his cause was walking by his side. They overtook two other Fellahheen who were going the same way, and were talking busily. One of the two was almost blind, and he was talking of that very case, and telling how he nad been engaged by the opposite party to come and bear false witness for a payment of 60 piastres (about 10s.). "But," continued he, "the stingy fellow who wanted my evidence shut me up in a room to wait till he was ready for me to appear in court, and he never so much as gave me 100 paras (about 5d.) wherewith to get my breakfast. If he had but given me that I should have been content, but he shut me in till I got so hungry that I climbed over the wall and ran away; and he never told me, either, what I was to say in my evidence for him—he was in such a hurry. If he had told me what to say I might have gone to the court and earned the 60 piastres he promised me for my witness." Our friend here addressed the man. "How, old man (may God give thee a good evening), wouldst thou, being blind, have testified about what happened in a dark night? Thou canst not see much even by daylight. And dost thou know Esau?" (This was the person under accusation, and who was at that moment walking beside our friend.)

"I do not know him. I have never seen him."

"Thou dost not know him even by sight; and how canst thou appear as a witness against him, or swear that thou hast seen him do things?"

"But 60 piastres, my lord! That is much to me; and besides, the other one (the accuser) was going to tell me what to say."

"Then I tell thee thou art a wicked man, to go and swear against another for 60 piastres. Here he is, Esau himself, and I tell thee so before him."

"O Esau," said the old man, unabashed, "if I had sworn against thee it would have put 60 piastres into my pocket, and it would have been very bad for thee. But thine accuser did not give me the paras to buy my breakfast, so I could wait no longer, but ran away, and thou hast escaped."

"Then," said Esau, magnanimously, "I will give thee the paras for thy breakfast."

"No," said the old man, coolly, "thou shalt give me more, even the price of mending my shoes; for have not I walked to town and back all for nothing on thy account?"

In enumerating the faults of the Fellahheen we must not omit to mention selfishness; and in some districts more than others, cruelty and indifference to suffering, whether of man or beast.

There is but little cold-blooded murder. But some districts and villages have an evil reputation for this kind of crime. Generally speaking, however, they do not kill each other, excepting in the clan feuds or in avenging blood. There is an ugly expression used among the Fellahheen of South Palestine in speaking of an enemy slain in war. "*Dhabbahhtho bisnâny*" ("I slew him with my teeth"). And it is said that there have been instances of killing in battle in this fashion by biting at the throat. In the Nablous district (Samaria), where the people are much more ferocious, the expression is, "I have drunk his blood," but that is understood figuratively.

The virtues of the Fellahheen are few and simple: courage in battle, attention to the rites of hospitality, a certain devotion to their village sheikh, some reverence for old men, respect for various superstitious religious observances, a general conformity to the tenets of Islâm, veneration for Mohammed the Prophet, and loyalty to the Sultan as their sovereign and as head of the Moslem religion—these are the chief points observed by a Fellahh of honour and repute, The Sultan is always mentioned in terms of reverence and devotion. They know but little of Mohammed the Prophet; still he is held in highest honour, and the phrase may commonly be heard, "*Sally en-Neby alai es-Salaam*" ("Pray in the name (or in honour) of the Prophet upon whom be peace").

The religion of Islâm is nominally professed. The resignation which it inculcates is universally practised. But many superstitious observances derived from their forefathers have a considerable hold upon the Fellahheen, and influence their whole life and habits.

To their village sheikh they show but moderate respect; indeed, in most villages there are rival sheikhs and rival factions, but the chief sheikh of the clan or district is much more regarded, especially if he have a character for generosity and bravery in fight.

All the sheikhs are treated by their people with a certain amount of

ceremony. They, of course, occupy the place of honour in the village guest-chamber, and they are accompanied, in their visits to other villages or to Jerusalem, by a sort of body-guard of followers, called their "tail" (*dail*). These are generally on foot while the sheikh is mounted. It sometimes happens that the shiekh is also on foot; in that case his people literally follow him along the road, those of highest rank or nearest relationship being only just a step or so behind, so that he can converse without the trouble of turning his head. When mounting or dismounting, his people will help him, and hold his stirrups, or his spear or gun, if needful. A great sheikh will of course have a great following wherever he goes abroad, and he is always treated with much respect by his own people. Some of these sheikhs have exercised very great influence over the whole district and upon their people. A Fellahh of Beit Jibrin, having been caught and taken to Jerusalem for the offence of stealing cows from a neighbouring district, was beaten repeatedly and severely by the Turkish Government to make him confess; but all in vain. At length his own chief, Shiekh Muslehh, being in Jerusalem, went to the prison to see him, who, holding up his own beard, adjured the culprit, "By this brown thing, tell me, didst thou steal them?" The man at once confessed, "out of respect for the beard of his sheikh," the beard being the very token and emblem of human dignity and honour among the inhabitants of Palestine.

Courage in battle and presence of mind are virtues esteemed more highly than all the foregoing. The men perform many feats of bravery in battle, and they sometimes show considerable presence of mimd in time of danger. We heard of one who, feeling himself hard pressed by his pursuers, flung himself over the edge of a precipice. They ran round to catch and finish him at the bottom; but he had hung on at the top by his hands, and, while they were running round, he climbed up again and got safe off.

Another of whom we were told was pursued to the mouth of a circular well. Being a good swimmer, he jumped in. His enemies fired at him from above, but he dived each time and kept them, it was said, at this work the greater part of a night, until some of his own side coming up, drove off the others and got him safe out.

To beg for mercy when beaten is considered unworthy of a brave man. When a Fellahh warrior falls into the power of his enemies, he generally bears his fate stoically, or rather with the stolid resignation peculiar to the profession of the faith of Islâm.

The Fellahh custom is for them to ask the man in their hands, "Where is so-and-so?" naming one on their side whom he has killed.

"Here!" he replies, pointing with his hand under his girdle. "I claim to have taken his life."

Again they ask, "Where is so-and-so?" naming another of his victims.

Again he answers, "Here!"

A friend of ours once saw a Fellahh answer thus to thirteen names of

men whom he had slain, and then add, "With this right hand I slew them! Do what you can." He was laid down with his face to Mecca and slaughtered like a goat, his throat being cut with the short sword, according to the usual way of slaying sheep or men. By appealing for mercy to one of those present, he might have saved his life. But that is considered too great a disgrace for any one who considers himself "*a man.*"

Next to resignation to the will of God and bravery in battle, one of the very highest virtues is that of hospitable entertainment of strangers and guests. With this many interesting customs are connected, but we have no space to speak of them on the present opportunity.

JACOB'S WELL, ITS HISTORY AND ASSOCIATIONS.

THE plain of Mukhna, thought to be the same as the ancient plain of Moreh, is situated in the very centre of the Holy Land. In journeying from Shiloh to Shechem, about midway between the two places, we ascend to the crest of a ridge of hills, and from the summit obtain the first view of this fertile plain. It runs almost due north and south, and extends about seven miles in length, varying from one to two miles in breadth. This great plain, unbroken by fence or village, presented to our eyes during the spring of last year a scene of fertility and rural beauty not to be surpassed throughout the whole of Palestine.

The main road, winding through the plain, could easily be seen by its light appearance, and the clumps of aged olive-trees growing by the roadside, while all around the fields smiled with ripening corn. Many peasants were busy in the cultivation of the soil, and from one spot alone we were able to see at least one hundred yoke of ploughing oxen. The greater part of El Mukhna is enclosed by low undulating hills, and at the north-east extremity, towering high above the other hills, stand the celebrated twin mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. Far away on the northern horizon, on a clear day, can be seen the lofty hill of Great Hermon.

Between Ebal and Gerizim, running at right-angles to El Mukhna, the far-famed vale of Shechem.

The patriarch Abraham, when commanded to leave his home and country, ultimately pursued his journey across the Syrian desert, until he came to the borders of the Promised Land. On arriving at the banks of the Jordan he crossed the river and continued his way towards the west until he came "unto the place of Sichem unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land. And the Lord appeared unto Abraham and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the Lord." The first recorded halting-place of Abram is not without significance, for Sichem stood in

the centre of Palestine, insomuch that it was designated the middle or more correctly the navel of the land; and thus by Divine guidance did he proceed to the central spot of the country intended as the future home of his favoured posterity. The patriarch Jacob, journeying from Padan-aram to Canaan, seems to have followed in the footsteps of his grandfather Abraham, and first purchased a possession in the Promised Land not far from the Vale of Shechem. In this valley, after the conquest of the land, the national gatherings of the Israelites took place, and here Joshua, in his old age, assembled all the people that they might hear from his lips for the last time the whole counsel of God.

At the bend of the path, where the road turns into the Valley of Shechem, a low spur rising at the base of Mount Gerizim runs for a short distance in a north-east direction, and thus separates the valley from the plain. On arriving at the low ridge we turn aside from the main road, and follow a little path on the right hand. In a few minutes we come to a low crumbling wall, where, after clambering over loose stones, we step upon a mound composed of heaps of ruins, and the fragments of large granite columns. This mound lies at the meeting of the two valleys and links together the sacred history of upwards of three thousand years. At the south-east corner of this mound the traveller is led forward to a hole broken through the roof of a vaulted chamber with a pointed roof. On looking through this opening into the chamber beneath, several large stones are observed, probably the fallen arch-stones, scattered over the floor, and about the middle of the little chamber is a small dark aperture, the mouth of the shaft of Jacob's Well. Standing on the ground by the vaulted chamber we notice that the landscape is both extensive and impressive. Westward stretched the fertile Valley of Shechem, on the north of which rises the rocky slopes of Ebal, while on the south side rises abruptly to the height of 800 feet the sacred Mount of Gerizim. Southward, stretching as far as the eye could reach, was the wide-spreading plain of El Mukhna, over which we had passed. Due eastward, across the plain, El Mukhna sends forth a broad green arm among the hills. This arm is still called the Vale of Shalem, and takes its name from a hamlet of that name standing on the rocky acclivity on the north side of the valley. This village has been identified by Dr. Robinson with every show of probability as occupying the site of that Shalem—a city of Shechem—before which Jacob pitched his tent on his return from Padan-aram to Canaan. Down that valley the little stream from Shechem drains into the Jordan, from which river Jacob ascended by that wady, and halting where the vale opens into the plain, pitched his tent before Shalem.

"And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-aram, and pitched his tent before the city. And he bought a parcel of a field, where he had spread his tent at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's

father, for an hundred pieces of money, and he erected there an altar."

"The practical wisdom of the shepherd prince who crossed the Jordan with his staff and came back at the head of two great bands was never more signally displayed than in securing a possession in this the garden of Canaan, and in afterwards prospectively bestowing it on his favourite son." This parcel of ground became the homestead of the patriarch and his household, and over it and the adjoining plain his flocks freely roamed. When Jacob had removed to the hill country of Judea he still retained his purchased possession, and from the Vale of Hebron sent forth his beloved son Joseph to see how fared his brethren and their flocks in the Vale of Shechem. "And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem. And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here am I. And he said to him, Go, I pray thee: see whether it be well with thy brethren and well with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the Vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem." To Joseph and his descendants did the dying patriarch bequeath this purchased possession, and Joseph's dying request was that his bones might be buried there. "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence."

This injunction after a long period of years was strictly obeyed, for when the Israelites set forth from Egypt for the Promised Land they carried with them the mummy of Joseph. "And the bones of Joseph which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for an hundred pieces of silver: and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph." It seems somewhat strange that nowhere in the Old Testament is it stated that Jacob dug a well, although the existence of the well at the present day in the parcel of ground, and the distinct statement of the Samaritan woman that Jacob gave the well, put the fact beyond a doubt.

The geological structure of Palestine is largely composed of limestone; and as the well penetrated far beneath the surface, and was generally bored through the rock, it will readily be seen that a deep well was a work both gigantic and abiding. Sinking a well in the East is a greater undertaking than the erection of a castle or the construction of a fortress; but when once the well is bored through the rock it remains almost indestructible, so that while temples fall into decay and pyramids gradually crumble before the ravages of time, the boring through the solid rock remains sure and steadfast; a link of connection between the centuries, and a bond of union that knits together the successive generations of the sons of men. Such wells were made at an enormous cost, and the name of the constructor was handed down from age to age as a benefactor to posterity. Not only are the scenes of sacred history identified by the imperishable wells, but their very existence tends to establish the historical character of the word of God.

The wells still to be seen at Beersheba are witnesses of the life of Abraham; and the well of Jacob in the Vale of Shechem is an abiding monument of the earliest and latest events in sacred history. They were usually sunk at the foot of the hills, where the best supply of water was likely to be found, and were places of resort for many classes of people. Shepherds in ancient days led their flocks, and shepherds even at the present day lead their flocks to the well's mouth, that the animals may drink of the cool refreshing water drawn from the deep rocky bed. A well was the natural halting-place of caravans, and wayfaring men looked forward to it as a resting-place for the night. The women of the neighbourhood assembled in the evening to talk and to draw water from the well; thus it was by a well that Eliezer met Rebekah, Jacob met Rachel, Moses met Zipporah, and Our Saviour met the woman of Samaria. Thus do the wells of the East suggest to the mind pictures of the ancient life of the country, and lead back our thoughts to the days of the prophets and the patriarchs.

It has been urged that there is abundance of water at no great distance from Jacob's parcel of ground, and therefore it is highly improbable that the patriarch dug a deep well in his purchased possession.

In answering this objection it ought to be noticed that the first assertion forming the premises of the argument is quite correct, for in the neighbouring Vale of Shechem there flows a bountiful supply of water. Within half a mile of the well we crossed over a gushing stream, and close by are three springs or fountains from which water bubbles forth in a never-failing supply. In company with El Karey, the missionary, we walked through Nablus, which occupies the site of ancient Shechem, and is situated about a mile and a half from the well. In the streets and suburbs we noticed many springs, and were surprised to learn that in the town and neighbourhood there are over seventy perennial fountains, so that the Valley of Shechem is the best watered, and consequently the most fertile, valley of Palestine. Notwithstanding this, however, I think the conclusion that Jacob did not dig the well is false, and believe that, even if no other evidence existed than the known character of Jacob, and the fact that the well is in the parcel of ground, the probability is in favour of the well being constructed by that patriarch.

The well, as a fact, does exist now, and has existed from time immemorial, and at enormous cost and labour must have been sunk by some person of wealth, who desired an abundant supply of water independent of the adjoining springs. Whatever objections, therefore, are urged against the patriarch being the constructor, are equally applicable to any other person; and since the well has been dug, there is no person in the history of the district so likely to have undertaken this gigantic work as the patriarch Jacob, the great shepherd prince of ancient Israel. His grandfather Abraham, a man very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold, dug wells of water in the hill country of Judea, and in consequence of some disputes with the inhabitants regarding the ownership of the

well, Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech, and to confirm the oath named the well Beersheba—that is, the well of the oath. Isaac also had many contentions with the inhabitants of the land respecting the wells, for not only had he to dig again the wells of his father, which had maliciously been stopped by the Philistines after the death of Abraham, but when he found it desirable to sink other wells, the natives persistently strove for the possession of them.

On arriving at the plain of El Mukhna by the Vale of Shechem, Jacob, for his part, doubtless recalled to mind the fierce contentions that both his father and grandfather had with the inhabitants of the land. He could not but remember also that the root of that contention lay in the fact that both Isaac and Abraham had digged wells in ground that was not their purchased possession; and consequently Jacob wisely resolved to buy a parcel of ground of the people of the land, so that no disputes might arise respecting the heritage of the soil. His household was very extensive, and it was necessary that every day he himself, his children, and his cattle, should have an abundant supply of water. Many springs of water were bubbling forth perennial streams; but the patriarch was a stranger in a strange land, and the abundant supply required daily for his flocks might incite the anger of the children of Hamor, and be urged as a plea for that jealous contention so often endured by Abraham and Isaac. Under these circumstances it appears natural to suppose that the peace-loving Jacob secured for himself a never-failing source of living water by digging a deep well in his own purchased possession.

"How truly," says Dr. Tristram, "in keeping with Jacob's peace-loving character was this act of sinking a well in a plain at so enormous a cost—so near the city and its abundant springs and rills—fearing lest his sons should quarrel with the Shechemites concerning the water more precious than land. The land might be roamed over by the flocks, for the people were few; but the springs were not to be drunk up by the herds of the stranger. Therefore, following the examples of his father and his grandfather, Jacob determined to sink a well, but profiting by the remembrance of their experience at Beersheba, with characteristic caution he first purchased the piece of land of the lord of the country, of Hamor the father of Shechem." The well at one time must have been of considerable depth, probably the deepest in Palestine; and being in great measure bored through the rock, this gigantic undertaking, when once consummated, would remain as a valuable legacy to posterity. It is never once alluded to in the Old Testament, but this may arise from the fact that wells became common in the country, and the neighbourhood of Shechem being well supplied with water the people were not dependent upon it for their supply. It could not, however, be destroyed.

That, however, which gives an undying interest to Jacob's Well, and renders it one of the most interesting spots in the world, is the fact that Our Blessed Lord sat one day by the well's mouth, and in conversation with a Samaritan woman unfolded to her the spiritual

nature of that dispensation He came from heaven to proclaim. One day in the month of May of the present year we sat down by Jacob's Well, and it was to us a deep delight to sit on a spot where the Saviour once sat, and to gaze upon the wide plain, the fertile vale and towering Gerizim just as they met His sacred gaze eighteen hundred years ago. Taking out our Bible we read the fourth chapter of St. John; and the passage read by the well seemed to acquire additional freshness, and brought vividly to our minds the truth and accuracy of the Scripture narrative. "Then cometh He to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Now Jacob's Well was there. Jesus, therefore being wearied with His journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour." He must have left Jerusalem very early in the morning in order that He might walk during the cool hours of morn, even as pilgrims do at the present day. Passing over the heights of Benjamin, Christ would pursue His way by the main road, going through Bethel and near to Shiloh, both of sacred memory. Over that ridge of hills on the south side of El Mukhna, and along that dusty road which for five miles runs through the plain, both hills and path being seen by us as we sat at the well's mouth, our Saviour must have continued the long and toilsome journey. Midday had come, and therefore for some hours the sun had poured upon the solitary traveller his fierce rays, and therefore it was natural that He, weary with the journey, should quench His thirst with the cool water drawn from its rocky bed.

"There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water." It has been urged, and as it seems to us justly, that it is not likely that a Samaritan woman would walk from a town a mile and a half off, as the present Nablus is, to draw water from Jacob's Well, when there were abundant springs in Shechem itself, and many more springs which she would have passed in coming from Shechem. Many answers have been given to this objection. First, it is said that the veneration for the memory of the patriarch, and the superiority of the cool water, are sufficient reasons for the woman going a long distance. Secondly, it has been suggested that Sychar might not occupy precisely the same site as the ancient Shechem, or the present Nablus. Eastern towns often change their sites—*e.g.*, Hebron has ascended and descended the adjoining hills, extending and changing its site at different periods. The present Nazareth does not cover the exact site of ancient Nazareth, and while the modern barracks by Nablus were being built, which occupy a position midway between Jacob's Well and the town, the workmen struck upon many old foundations, which tend to prove that the ancient city extended a considerable distance down the vale, eastward of the modern town.

El Karey, the present missionary at Nablus, suggested to us that the woman did not go to the well to draw water for domestic purposes, inasmuch as the ancient custom was for women to draw it in the evening; thus we read that Abraham's servant "made his camels to kneel down

without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water;" and as the time when our Saviour spoke to her was mid-day, El Karey further remarked that the Samaritan woman was probably working in the adjoining fields, and during the noontide meal approached the well simply that she might drink.

All the foregoing suggestions are reasonable, and carry with them a certain amount of conviction to many minds, but in my own opinion the true answer to the objection may be found in the following consideration. As I sat by the well and looked northward, I noticed at the bottom of Ebal, at the south-east corner of the mount, about half a mile from us, a small village, and on further inquiry found it to be the village of Aschâr. The close resemblance of this name to Sychar is very evident, inasmuch as the two names contain the same consonants, and it is one of the fundamental laws of philology that in tracing a word through its successive changes, the consonants, and not the changing vowels, are the means by which words can be traced to a common origin. It is not surprising, then, that some have suggested that the present Aschâr occupies the site of the Sychar mentioned in St. John's Gospel. Dr. Thomson, in the "Land and the Book," speaking on this subject, says:—"If Nablus occupies the place of Shechem, it is one of the oldest cities in the world; nor is there anything improbable in this, for its natural advantages, great beauty, and abundant supply of water, mark out the site for a city. This latter fact, however, seems to prove that Shechem was not the Sychar mentioned in the fourth chapter of St. John. It is incredible that 'the woman of Samaria' should have gone two miles away from these fountains to draw water out of an immensely deep well. If we admit the identity of the present well of Jacob with that mentioned by St. John, there can be but little doubt that Sychar was a small Samaritan town not far from that spot; and there is a village north of it now called Aschâr. This is so like John's Sychar that I feel inclined to adopt it." It is gratifying to me that this view is adopted by Lieutenant Conder in his "Tent Work in Palestine." In vol. i., page 75, he writes:—"The little village of Askar stands on the slope of Ebal, within sight of Jacob's Well, about half a mile from it, and a little over a mile from Nablus. . . . It is here, no doubt, that we recognise the Sychar of the fourth gospel. An unaccountable confusion has grown up lately between Sychar and Shechem. . . . It will be evident to all readers of the Gospel narrative that Sychar, 'a city of Samaria,' near Jacob's Well, is a description hardly to be expected of Shechem, which is moreover mentioned by its original name in the New Testament (Acts vii. 16). The early Christians recognised the description, and place Sychar a mile east of Shechem, as noticed in the 'Itinerary of Jerusalem, 333 A.D.' It is clear that they refer to Askar, and the identity is maintained by Canon Williams and others; but a difficulty has always been felt by students because the modern name begins with a guttural, which cannot have occurred in

the name Sychar. This difficulty the Samaritan chronicle seems to me to remove, for in it we find a town mentioned apparently near Shechem called Ischar, which is merely a vulgar pronunciation for Sychar; and the Samaritans themselves in translating their Chronicle into Arabic call it 'Askar. Thus the transition is traceable from the Hebrew form, having no meaning in Arabic but originally 'a place walled in,' through the Samaritan Ischar to the modern 'Askar, a 'collection' or 'army,' in Arabic."

A Christian church seems to have been built over or near to the well in the time of Constantine the Great. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited the spot in 333 A.D., saw no church there, but according to Jerome the noble lady Paula, in 383, entered a church built on the side of Gerizim—"circa puteum Jacob" (around Jacob's Well).

Bishop Arculf, in 700 A.D., saw the church, sketched it, and describes it as cruciform in shape, built over the well. It was, however, destroyed before the Crusaders' time. Probably the ruins scattered round the spot at present belong for the most part to this ancient church.

Over the well is a small vaulted chamber, into which we descended through a large hole in the roof. The chamber is 8 feet high, 7 wide, and 12 long. At the end is a long vault running at right angles, and from this run three smaller vaults parallel to each other. These underground chambers seem to have been the substructures of some church, but as we discovered in them the pointed arch and groined roof, they certainly do not belong to Constantine's time, but are probably the work of the Crusaders of the twelfth century. The well's mouth, which is under the pavement of the small vaulted chamber, has been arched over. Some of the arch stones had been taken away, and through the opening we looked down into what seemed to be a dark hole. As we continued to gaze intently into this shaft, we noticed that the top part was lined with masonry, of good polished ashlar work. Deeper and deeper we traced the masonry, to a depth of about twenty feet, after which, as it seemed to us, the bore was through the rock. We then dropped a stone into the deep shaft, and while it was descending counted sixteen. This was repeated about a dozen times, with the same result. We therefore judged it to be about 80 feet deep. The stones made no splash on reaching the bottom, from which it was evident that there was no water then in the well, although we were afterwards told that water is sometimes drawn from its rocky bottom. The well was originally much deeper, but other travellers, like ourselves, keep dropping stones into it out of curiosity; and as this goes on from generation to generation, it is clear that a vast accumulation of *débris* chokes up the lower depths of the shaft. We therefore agree with El Karey in thinking that originally the well was probably 150 feet deep.

The Palestine Exploration Fund desire to clear out this rubbish and build a low wall round the well's mouth, such as would exist in the time of Christ. Lieutenant Kitchener, in 1877, was prevented from carrying out the work by the disturbed condition of the country. I

hope that before long it will be found possible to expend the small sum necessary to protect from further injury one of the most venerable monuments in the world.

Among the surrounding ruins we found fragments of three red granite columns lying prostrate on the ground. Half a mile up the valley we found a fourth column, fifteen feet long, lying by the roadside. On making inquiry we learned that this column had been brought from the well to form an entrance to the modern barracks. The idea, however, was not carried out, and the venerable column was cast aside, and now lies neglected by the roadside. The four reminded us of the columns in Helena's Basilica at Bethlehem, and perhaps formed part of the original church built in the days of Constantine.

The Old Testament, the Samaritan woman, external evidence and tradition extending back to at least the fourth century, testify that the well is the work of the patriarch.

Jews and Samaritans, Christians and Moslems, agree that this rock-cut bore is Jacob's Well, so that "of all the special localities of Our Lord's life in Palestine, this is, perhaps, the only one absolutely undisputed."

JAMES KING.

NEPHTOAH AND KIRJATH-JEARIM.

THE following notes may perhaps be useful as throwing some light on the question raised by Rev. A. Henderson in the October number of the *Quarterly Statement*, respecting the line of the boundary of Judah, between Jerusalem and Beth-shemesh :—

This boundary has usually been drawn westwards by Lifta (supposed to be Nephtoah), and Kuriet el 'Anab, supposed to be Kirjath-jearim.

There is, however, one very great objection to such a line, namely, the passage in the history of Saul (1 Sam. x. 2), which incidentally mentions the tomb of Rachel as being in the "border" of Benjamin. The word גבול, used in this passage, is the word used in the book of Joshua to define the "boundary line" between the tribal possessions. The Rabbinical writers agree with this statement, saying that Rachel died within the territory of Benjamin.

There is another objection also respecting *Lifta*, namely, that the Arabic does not contain the guttural of the Hebrew Nephtoah. No *town* of the name of Nephtoah is mentioned, either in the passage of Joshua (xv. 9) or elsewhere in the Bible; the place is called "the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah (מעין מי נפתוח), and the word מעין translated "fountain," means a group of springs, or a large supply of water, such as does not exist at Lifta.

The Babylon Talmud Commentary on the tract Yoma of the Mishnah (fol. 31*a*) informs us that Nephtoah was the same place as Etam (עיטם), whence an aqueduct ran to the Temple. The Etam in question has been recognised by Dr. Tobler and others as the present *'Ain 'Atân*, close to the so-called Pools of Solomon, south-west of Bethlehem. From

this spring an ancient aqueduct still leads to the Temple enclosure in Jerusalem.

The site thus indicated by Jewish tradition, in a passage which has special value because the notice is merely incidental, appears very appropriate. First, because in this case the boundary line, running from Jerusalem southwards, and passing west of Bethlehem, would naturally be drawn close to Rachel's Sepulchre, on the watershed of the country. And, secondly, because a collection of springs, such as is indicated by the word מעין, does exist at this spot.

It seems, therefore, that there is a sufficient *primâ-facie* case to make the inquiry worth pursuing, and in order to make the question clearer it will be well to examine very carefully the special terms employed, in the passage of the book of Joshua which describes the boundary line, starting from En Rogel, the spring east of Jerusalem now generally identified with the so-called "Fountain of the Virgin."

JOSHUA XV.

Ver. 8. "The border *went up* by the valley (גי) Ben Hinnom to the shoulder (כתף) of the Jebusi to the south, and the border ascended to the top (ראש) of the hill which is facing Gehinnom west, which is by the end (קצה) of the Emek Rephaim northwards."

Ver. 9. "And the border was drawn from the top of the hill to the springs of the water of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of Mount Ephron (עפרון); and the border was drawn to Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim."

Ver. 10. "And the border compassed (נסב) from Baalah westwards to the hill Seir (שעיר), and *crossed over* (עבר) to the shoulder (כתף) of the hill Jearim northwards (מצפונה) it is Chesalon, and *descended* (ירד) to Beth-shemesh and *crossed over* to Timnah."

JOSHUA XVIII.

Ver. 15. "And the south quarter from the end (קצה) of Kirjath-jearim; and the border went forth westwards, and went forth to the springs of the water of Nephtoah."

Ver. 16. "And the border *descended* to the end of the hill which is above the face (עלפני) of the Ge Ben Hinnom, which is by the Emek Rephaim northwards, and *went down* Ge-Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusi, and *descended* to En Rogel."

Few descriptions could be more carefully worded; the terms used for going up, down, or across, are all explicit, and the description is properly reversed as the border is described from east to west, or from west to east.

Without entering into the question of the identity of Gehinnom with one of the two valleys which claim the name, it is evident that the border ran south of Jebus, and ascended to the hill west of Gehinnom and north of the Emek Rephaim.

The position of the Emek Rephaim is, however, of importance, as it

was close to the border. The word Emek (עמק), equivalent to the Arabic *Ghamîk*, or "deep," is used in the Bible to signify the great open valleys between mountain chains, and sometimes the plains bounded by mountains. Thus the broad valley of Elah is called Emek; the term cannot properly be applied to a gorge or ravine.

Josephus says that the Valley of Rephaim was a valley extending from Jerusalem to Bethlehem (Ant. vii. 12. 4), and the authors of the Onomasticon understood the name to apply to the hollow plateau which extends from south of Jerusalem to Mar Elias, and which is generally now called the Plain of Rephaim.

From various passages in the Old Testament the proximity of this Emek Rephaim to Bethlehem may also be inferred.

The Philistines were there encamped when the dangerous expedition of David's heroes to Bethlehem was undertaken (2 Sam. xxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xi. 15). In another passage the Philistines are said to have *spread themselves* in the Emek Rephaim, showing it to have been an expanse suitable as a camping-ground; and David's pursuit was by Geba to Gazer (2 Sam. v. 22), by which we may understand a flight by the main valley west of Bethlehem, above which stands *Jeb'a*, the ancient Gibeah of Judah.

The identification of Nephtoah with 'Ain 'Atân; the probable position of the Emek Rephaim; and the incidental notice of Rachel's sepulchre as being on the boundary, all therefore point to the watershed between Jerusalem and Bethlehem as forming the boundary between Judah and Benjamin.

The identification of Kirjath-jearim with *Kuriet el 'Anab* (as proposed by Dr. Robinson) will, however, not agree with such a boundary; but this rests solely on the evidence of early Christian writers, and the important part of the Hebrew title—viz., *Jearim*—is not found in the Arabic name.

The indications which we possess as to the position of Kirjath-jearim in the Bible are scanty. It was in the territory of Judah (Josh. xviii. 14), and therefore a distinct place from Kirjath of Benjamin, which may very probably have been *Kuriet el 'Anab*, or, as it is generally called, *Kurieh*. The place called Mahaneh Dan (מחנה דן), which was apparently near Zoreah and Eshtaol (*Sur'ah* and *Eshu'a*), was also "by" (ב) and "behind" (אחרי) Kirjath-jearim (Judg. xviii. 12). This place, judging from the general use of the word (compare, for instance, the plain called *Mukhnah*, near Shechem), must have been a broad flat expanse suitable for a camp, such as is found in the open valley of Sorek south of Zoreah. We are thus induced to look for Kirjath-jearim not far from these towns of Dan, and probably it should be sought in the hills, for the name Baalah sometimes applied to the site indicates a lofty position, and the ark while at Kirjath-jearim is said to have been in "the hill" (Gibeah, 2 Sam. vi. 3).

Beth-shemesh, whence the ark was taken to Kirjath-jearim, was south

of Zoreah. We might naturally expect Kirjath-jearim to be not far from Beth-shemesh, even without the testimony of Josephus, but fortunately that authority distinctly states (Ant. vi. 1. 4) that Kirjath-jearim was "a city in the neighbourhood of Beth-shemesh."

In a former paper I have noticed the discovery by the survey party in 1874 of a ruin near Beit 'Atab named *'Erma*. This word preserves the principal letters of *Arim*, the later form of the ancient *Iarim*, which means "thickets," and forms the important part of the name—Kirjath-jearim, "the village of thickets." The surrounding hills are more thickly clothed, even at the present day, with dense copse than is any part of the district in which the town can be sought. The ruin is situate on the southern brink of the great valley which broadens into the valley of Sorek, and it is about four miles east of the site of Beth-shemesh ('Ain Shemes), thus agreeing with the words of Josephus. The probable site of the Mahaneh Dan is north-west of the ruin, and Zoreah and Eshtaol are on the opposite side of the flat valley, which may be supposed to have formed the "Camp of Dan." There is no difficulty in drawing the boundary from the Pools of Solomon to this new site for Kirjath-jearim. The watershed of the long spur called *el 'Arkub* ("the ridge") would be followed all along westwards, and this ridge may perhaps be the Mount Ephron of the book of Joshua, though in such a case it has lost its name, in common with all the other natural features of Palestine mentioned in the Bible. It remains to inquire whether the line can be drawn west of the site of *'Erma* in a satisfactory manner. The number of points described are more numerous because the line appears to have been artificial, twice *crossing over* some valley or stream.

West of Kirjath-jearim was Mount Seir, and of this, perhaps, the name is recognisable in *Khurbet S'aireh* (a ruin), which is on the same block of hill, though too far south to have been actually on the boundary line.

From Mount Seir the border went to Mount Jearim, not to the top, but to the slope or shoulder of the mountain. This hill appears also to have been wooded, and was called Chesalon (מצונה היא כסלון). The border appears to have gone north, and crossed over a valley between Mount Seir and Mount Jearim.

We have a further indication in this part, for the towns of Zoreah and Eshtaol were so close to this boundary that they are in one passage (Josh. xv.) enumerated as towns of Judah, and in another (Josh. xix.) as towns of Dan. This accounts for the irregular course of the boundary, twice crossing over between Kirjath-jearim and Timnah, and having Beth-shemesh (a town of Judah only) south of the line.

From the Survey map (Sheet XVII.) this boundary can easily be traced. The line has to cross a deep valley between the hill on which *'Erma* stands and the long ridge on which to the north is *Kesla*, the recognised site of Chesalon. It has again to recross the same valley to get to Timnah after passing Zoreah and Eshtaol on the south and

Beth-shemesh on the north. The border cannot, however, be drawn to *the top* of the mountain on which *Kesla* stands, but would run over the western slope or "shoulder," just as described in the Bible.

In connection with the line thus proposed, it is noticeable that *no cities of Judah are enumerated in the Hebrew Bible north of this line.* In the Septuagint, indeed, no less than six towns are enumerated which are identified with places lying in the territory which would have belonged to Benjamin according to the new boundary. These are Culon (*Kolonia*), Sores (*Saris*), Carem (*'Ain Kârim*), Galem (*B. Jâla*), Bether (*Bittîr*), and Manocho (*Mâlhah*). The interpolation of these names may, however, possibly belong to a later period, when the old boundaries were forgotten, and when it was noticed that this group of important places west of Jerusalem was unnoticed in the Old Testament.

Another important gain is, that *Lifta* being no longer supposed to represent Nephtoah, we are at liberty to identify it with Eleph (אלף) of Benjamin, mentioned in the lists next to Jerusalem (Josh. xviii.), and therefore very probably in about the actual position of Lifta.

If we could recover Perez—Uzzah, Chidon, or Nachon (2 Sam. vi., 1 Chron. xiii. 6), and Mount Ephron, the question might be further elucidated; but of these names I have not been able to find any trace.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lt. R.E.

ZOAR.

MY attention has been called by Mr. Besant to the interesting report of Rev. Selah Merrill on the "Cities of the Plain" (*4th American Statement*). He supposes Tell Ektanu to be the site of Zoar, and marks it on his sketch map as two miles east of Tell er Rama, while, according to the map in the *3rd Statement*, Tell esh Shâghur is very nearly a mile and a half from the same spot.

I cannot quite reconcile the two maps, since the latter gives also an *intermediate* Tell, while Mr. Merrill says there are *exactly five* Tells in the plain of Shittim, without counting Nimrin—viz., Tell Kefrein, Tell er Rama, Tell el Hammam, Tell Ektanu, and Suweimeh. As he places the first and third of these about a mile to the north of the wady passing by Tell er Rama and Tell Ektanu (it also passes by Tell esh Shâghur), and marks Suweimeh some miles to the south-west of them, one would like some explanation as to the fate of Tell esh Shâghur.

It is strange that Professor Paine should recover the very name of Zoar in Tell esh Shâghur without commenting on it, and Mr. Merrill afterwards describe the Tells in the "plain" and yet pass by the Arabic title without notice. Tell esh Shâghur is evidently the "Segor" visited by Thietmar, A.D. 1217 (Bibl. Dict., Zoar). This hill cannot, I now think, be that described by Canon Tristram, for Mr. Merrill writes: "Between Tell Ektanu and Tell el Hammam, and close to the foot of the mountains, there are some of the largest and finest dolmens that I have ever

seen. The slabs of unhewn stone which cover them are, in some cases, of immense size. I counted upwards of fifteen of these, and where they were nearly perfect, the roof or cover slanted on two sides, so far as this could be with the materials used; and it appeared to me quite evident that the dolmens were the original of the sarcophagi, with which the country now abounds."

In speaking of Tell Ektanu, he states that "on it are some of the oldest ruins that I have yet seen in the country;" and that "the name, indeed, has no meaning in Arabic. . . . It appears to be the Hebrew word 'Kâtân,' which means *little*, or *the little one*."

"Luwâyeh" may without hesitation be taken to represent Lubith, since M. Ganneau recovered the name "Zoheleth" in the Arabic form, "Zehwele."

On further consideration I am disposed to think that Mr. Finn did not ascend Wady Hesbân, but one just north of it; yet until the district has been accurately mapped, certainty is difficult. Both wadies, however, may abound in honeysuckle.

A true identification ought to bear being thoroughly sifted; so also should the objections raised in any instance. Seven points in formidable array are marshalled (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 28) *in favour of* the mediæval opinion that Jeroboam's golden calves were set up near Shechem, and *against* the usual view that one was at the northern Dan and the other at Bethel, in Benjamin. Not one, however, of the seven will stand scrutiny.

Similarly, in his valuable report, the American explorer raises an unsound objection to identifying Hazezon-Tamar (Gen. xiv. 7) with Engedi. He observes that if *the cities of the plain* are put at the northern end of the Dead Sea, Chedorlaomer's campaign is no longer a geographical puzzle, yet he adds, "But the wonder still remains how he could pass by Abraham's door, and fight battles, and not attract his attention. I strongly suspect that the name Hazezon-Tamar has migrated from the eastern to the western shore, and that Chedorlaomer had nothing to do with the western shore . . . . but returned by a route on the east"—or "if Hazezon-Tamar means *palm forests* . . . . the messengers who came to Jehoshaphat may have said simply, "The great multitude . . . are at the palm-groves which are at Engedi" (2 Chron. xx. 2). The Bible narrative requires neither supposition, since it incidentally states all we want. Abram must have heard of the coming invasion, and therefore was "confederate" with Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, and had 318 men "trained" (? drilled) so as to meet the emergency. Happily for the four kings, Hebron did not lie within the sphere of their operations, and the patriarch had no interest in this eastern question, as between them and the five cities. But when, in an unlucky hour, they seized Lot and his goods, and one escaped and told Abram "that his *brother* was taken captive," then the tie of consanguinity, which throws light on many obscurities in the Bible, aroused the avenger of blood to start in deadly pursuit with characteristic promptitude.

Mr. Merrill seems inclined to think that the five cities of the plain were situated on Tells, and that the five Tells already named exactly suit the position required. As, however, "Lot beheld all the plain of Jordan . . . until thou comest unto Zoar," *i.e.*, as far as Zoar, which was therefore the limit of the "plain," *i.e.*, of the Ciccar, it seems to me that Suweimeh, several miles farther south, could not be one of the five cities. We must accordingly examine the "plain" for another probable site, and extend our search, if necessary, at least as far as "the oasis of Wady Shaib or Nimrin" ("the waters of Nimrim," Isa. xv. 6), "which really belongs to the Shittim plain," in order to take in some other Tell to complete the required five. From Wady Shaib northwards to the Jabbok, near Tell Damia, the plain is "desolate and barren, owing to the fact that there are no fountains or streams flowing down upon it from the hills" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 177).

It formerly seemed to me that the Damieh fords represented the name and general position of Admah, one of the five cities of the plain, but the interposition of this large barren tract renders this impossible. The plain, or Ciccar, which Lot beheld was "well watered *everywhere*," and must therefore have been limited on the north by this "real desert" region.

In finding Zoar we had the help of many indications, and we know for certain that Sodom was near it.

Towards fixing the precise position of the three remaining cities, all we have to guide us is that (1) they were *in the "plain," i.e.*, the Shittim oasis from Wady Shaib to Wady Hesbân, or to the Dead Sea; and (2) possibly, the *order* in which they are named, "Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboim, even unto Lasha" (? Laish). Zoar does not appear in the first list (Gen. x. 19).

This second point might lead us to conjecture that as Sodom was to the south, Zeboim, the last named, must have been the most northern city in the plain. Is there any Tell in this part bearing a name at all like Zeboim?

ZEBOIM.

ABOUT seven miles north-west from Tell esh Shâghur is a hill marked on Van de Velde's map as Tell esh Sha'ib. There seem to be good reasons for regarding this as Zeboim.

As the Z of Zoar has become "Sh" in Shâghur, we should expect the same change in Zeboim, and so we have above *Sha*'ib.

Zeboim (Auth. V.) seems to stand for two different Hebrew words, one meaning "hyænas" (Neh. xi. 34, and valley of Zeboim, 1 Sam. xiii. 18); the other "gazelles" (in Genesis Zeboiim), from the Hebrew Tzebi (whence Tabitha), a gazelle. I consider, therefore, the essential part of the word Zeboim is preserved in Sha'ib. Thus as to position and name the identification seems to be sound.

But further there is a special reason why a city in this region should be called *Zeboim* or *gazelles*.

David fleeing from Jerusalem must have crossed the Jordan, near Jericho on his way to Mahanaim. Abner with his men retreating from Gibeon would, we may assert, have crossed about the same spot. (2 Sam. ii. 29.) "They walked through the plain (*arabah*), and passed over Jordan, and went through *all Bithron*, and came to Mahanaim." Wherever the last place may have been, there can be little doubt that the road to it passed near Tell esh Sha'ib, and (as at the present day) led up Wady Sha'ib. This part, then, of the country would seem to be described as *Bithron*.

In Song of Sol. ii. 17 we read: "Be thou like a roe (*i.e.*, gazelle) or a young hart upon the mountains of *Bether*." As Bether and Bithron are so much alike, and have been taken to be the same, why should one hesitate to consider "the mountains of Bether to be the district "*all Bithron*" through which Abner went, or, at any rate, the mountains above it, if Bithron was entirely in the plain? That the mountains of Bether were in Gilead seems next to certain from Song of Sol. viii. 14, "Be thou like to a roe (gazelle) or to a young hart upon the mountains of *spices*," or of the *balsam bushes*, producing the *balm* for which Gilead was renowned.

Thus, as in western Palestine, the Ayal (hart) gave its name to the valley and city of Aijalon, so in the territory of Gad the Tzebi, or fleetly bounding (1 Chron. xii. 8, roes) gazelle, may have preserved its memory in Wady Sha'ib, and Tell esh Sha'ib, which I would thus recognise as Zeboim, on account of its name, general position, and proximity to the gushing streams from Nimrin (Isa. xv. 6), doubtless the favourite resort of the gazelle's natural enemy, the *nim'r*, or leopard.

As, however, the *Z* (Tzade) in *Zeboim* becomes *T* in the Aramaic *T*abitha, and the Arabic for gazelle is *D*hebi (Lieut. Conder, *Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 153), it might seem that Shaib after all can have nothing to do with Zeboim, and that the proposed identification fails on philological grounds. Yet the Hebrew Tzur becomes in Greek *T*yre and in Arabic *S*ur. Here is variety in pronunciation. In Greek it cannot be determined whether σ or δ was more strongly marked in pronouncing ζ, while in the LXX. Zeboim is rendered Σεβωείμ. There are several instances (*e.g.*, Zarephath, Zemaraim, Zorah) in which the Hebrew צ (*Tsade*) is represented now by S; but I am not aware of any case except Zeboim in which it becomes Dh. Shaib would seem to be the natural form of the word if no meaning were attached to it, or even if it were slightly altered to have a meaning, just as Ramah has been changed into Er Ram (the tank); for possibly Shaib may signify "brooks" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1872, p. 140, Yaskub fi Sh'aaîb = "it pours into the *brooks*").

It may be mentioned that Mr. Merrill says that an older name for Tell Kefrein is Tell es Sharab ("*Tell of drinking*," or the place where good water is abundant). This is somewhat similar to Shaib, and so of course to Zeboim. On his map Tell Shaib seems to be called Tell Churba.

It is curious that east of Acre is a valley marked on Van de Velde's as Wady *Shagghir* or *Shâ'ab*, and a district in Galilee is called Esh Shâghur.

Ayal (the hart) is mentioned in Psa. xlii. 1, which is allowed to have been composed on the eastern side of the Jordan, and why not, I would ask, by David, while he lay at Mahanaim? If this city be identified with Mahneh, it is a remarkable coincidence that close to it is a village named el-Mesar (Van de Velde) or Mezer (Finn's "Byeways," p. 67), recalling "the hill (really *mountain*) *Mizar*," while not far off a fine view is obtained of Mount *Hermon*, and probably of the *Jordan* valley, answering to the words, "the land of Jordan and of the Hermonites" (Psa. xlii. 6). W. F. Birch.

AI.

Truly Ai is like a will-o'-the-wisp. It has been seen at Et-Tel, Haiyan, Kh. Haiy, and Rummon; yet still it eludes unanimous identification.

On the new map Et Tell is marked E.S.E., and Michmash, near Kh. Haiy, a little S. of S.E. from Beitin (Bethel). Thus the expression, "Ai, on the *east* side of Bethel" (Josh vii. 2), does not exclude any of the above-named sites. Michmash was *eastward* from Beth-aven (1 Sam. xiii. 5 = to the *east* of Bethaven.—Sp. Comm.), which again, apparently, was "on the east side of Bethel" (Josh. vii. 2). The words "east side" fail, therefore, to help us in choosing between the four places already specified, while, if Deir Diwan be Bethaven (as first proposed by Mr. Finn), then *eastward* in 1 Sam. xiii. means something very little east of due south.

In Josh. vii., viii., and Neh. vii. 32, Bethel is so closely connected with Ai, that it seems to me that Aija (Neh. xi. 31) and Avim (Josh. xviii. 23) must be allowed to be Ai, which I regard as also being Aiath (Isa. x. 28).

The cliff Rimmon (Judg. xx. 45) appears to me to be identical with the Rimmon (Auth. V. translated "pomegranate") of 1 Sam. xiv. 2; and the boundary of Benjamin I take to have been drawn south of Rummon, which in this case cannot have been the site of Ai, though it is visible from Geba.

As the height of Almit is 2,089 feet, of Hizmeh 2,020 feet, and of Geba 2,220 feet, the first of these must be visible from the last, as the intermediate distance is about two miles. Thus all the places named in Isa. x. 28-32 (as supposed to be identified on p. 58, *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, and p. 133, 1878) have been *ascertained* to be visible from Geba, except three—viz., Gallim, which has not been tested, Ramah, which I still hope will prove to be visible, as Almit and Laish have done (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 205), and lastly Ai (or Aiath), which is visible if it be Et Tel or Kh. Haiy, or Rummon, and probably so if it be Haiyan.

Ai must have had a good supply of water close at hand, as was the case at Jericho, Bethel, Gibeon, &c. To help us, then, in identifying its site, we have (1) a spring, (2) an open valley (*emek*), (3) another valley (*gai*), not to speak of ruins or a position commanding the road from Jericho. Surely we may hope that the new map will solve the difficulty.

"ZION, THE CITY OF DAVID."

In the last *Statement* (p. 35) Mrs. Finn writes: "In the outbreak of 1834 the Fellahheen actually got possession of Jerusalem for a while. They entered by the sewer, from the south-east, and thus got (after some little difficulty in enlarging a passage for exit) into the Armenian quarter."

It has been noted as a remarkable coincidence that Jerusalem has thus twice been entered by a hostile force in identically the same way—viz., *through a subterranean passage*—on the first occasion by Joab, through the Gutter (or Tzinnor), on the last through the sewer as described above.

Historically it would be interesting to get a conviction against Araunah for treachery. The evidence may be thus summed up:—

1. Some one must have betrayed Jebus.

2. He would without doubt be liberally rewarded for his services, in addition to the preservation of his household.

3. It is certain that no other quarter would be given, for David was provoked (2 Sam. v. 8), and was not mild at such times (1 Sam. xxv. 13, &c.). The matter also fell into the hands of Joab, who, if less impetuous, was not less thorough in his work (1 Kings xi. 16).

4. Araunah is found in possession of exceedingly valuable land, in an advantageous position connecting him with the city, and requiring an explanation why an alien should be allowed to own it.

5. Josephus says "he was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself" (*Whiston*).

I do not think that any jury of honest or dishonest Jebusites would hesitate to identify the traitor who would be spared and enriched, with the very man who bore good-will to the Jews and was very intimate with David, and who sold him for 600 shekels of gold (more than Omri paid for the hill of Samaria) the dry rock of Moriah, doubtless foreseen by one speculator at the capture of Jebus as certain afterwards to fetch a fabulous price for building purposes. Therefore, verdict "Guilty."

Errata.—1878, p. 133, line 17. After "above" *read* "though Michmash was . . . between them" (line 18).

P. 182, line 11. After "east" *read* or south-east.

P. 185, line 36. For "eastern" *read* western.

P. 186, line 25. For "Acre" *read* Acra.

P. 187 (5). For "or at any rate," &c., *read* unless this be one just below the fountain, in the Nachal.

It is remarkable that Jerome mentions the valley of Hinnom, but never the Tyropœon.

W. F. Birch.

ON THE SITE OF EMMAUS.

LIEUTENANT CONDER has in his Book (I. p. 14) given his adhesion to the old view revived by Dr. Robinson that the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. is Nicopolis, the modern 'Amwâs. He does so apparently on the strength of the testimony of the Sinaitic MS., which in Luke xxiv. 13 reads 160 stadia. But the reading of that MS. is not sufficient to set aside other MS. authority, and still less to overbear the difficulties its adoption would create. (1) The weight of authorities is so decidedly against the Sinaitic—supported as it is only by MSS. I. K. and N.—that even Tischendorf does not accept it, partial as he naturally was to that MS. with the discovery of which his name will be always associated. Moreover the testimony of the Sinaitic lies specially open to suspicion on such a point. It has been thought by many scholars not improbable that it is one of the MSS. of the New Testament prepared by Eusebius at the command of Constantine. Its peculiar arrangement of four columns on the page is one that Eusebius says characterised some of those he had prepared; while its correspondence in doubtful passages with the readings approved by him is very notable. That Eusebius of Cesarea knew Nicopolis as Emmaus of the Maccabees is certain; as also that he knew it to be about 160 stadia from Jerusalem, and that he believed it to be the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. May he not be the author of this correction (?) on the Sinaitic, to bring it into agreement with the distance of that Emmaus from Jerusalem? Can the Sinaitic be regarded with certainty as an independent witness, and not just the Onomasticon over again?

(2) The distance of Nicopolis—160 stadia—from Jerusalem is quite incompatible with Luke's narrative. It implies a journey of 40 miles in one day, the second half after the evening meal! Such an objection would have had no weight with Eusebius. The *deus ex machina* of a miracle would have rid him of it had it been suggested. It is expressly stated that our Lord and the disciples had reached Emmaus (ver. 28, 29).

(3) The exact language of Luke in describing the place is equally opposed to the view that he intended Nicopolis. Twice in his narrative he calls it "a village;" though his use of "*city*" and "*village*" by no means indicates oversight of the distinction (viii. 1; xiii. 22). Moreover the phrase "*a village called Emmaus*" is one not likely to be used in speaking of a fortress so famous in Jewish and Roman history as Emmaus Nicopolis. In Mark xvi. 12, which is of undoubted value, whoever the author, the destination of the two disciples is described in the same style—"they went into the country" (εἰς ἀγρόν), which would scarcely have been used had they been going to a well-known city.

(4) The force of this consideration is intensified when we look to the Maccabees and Josephus. In 1 Macc. iii. 40, ix. 50, we have simply "Emmaus," without any description. And so throughout Josephus (*e.g.* Antiq. xvii. 10. 7, 9; Bell. Jud. v. 1. 6; 2. 3; 13. 1) Nicopolis is simply "Emmaus." Frequently, moreover, he calls it "a city" (πολις)

(Antiq. xii. 7. 3; xiv. 11. 2; Bell. Jud. iii. 3. 5). But when he speaks of Emmaus by the shore of the Sea of Galilee, near the "*City*" of Tiberias, he describes it (Antiq. xviii. 2. 3) as "*a village named Emmaus.*" Again, in describing that Emmaus where a colony of 800 of the disbanded soldiery was settled (Bell. Jud. vii. 6. 6), he calls it "*a place* (χωρίον) *called Emmaus, distant from Jerusalem* 60 (*or according to another reading* 30) *stadia.*" He spells the name slightly differently, as 'Ammaous. Whether the reading in this last-cited passage be 60 or 30 stadia, Josephus could not mean the city of Emmaus "in the plain." It seems utterly inconceivable in the light of such usage why Luke should have spoken of Emmaus as he has done, if he meant the famous city. It has been said it might be but a village since its destruction by Varus. Possibly, but that would not affect the pre-eminence its history had given it, and which led Josephus, and doubtless every one else, still to speak of it as simply "Emmaus." If the Evangelist had meant that Emmaus, he would have made his intention clear by simply, as Josephus does, calling it by its familiar name.

(5) The reading, 60 stadia, is supported not only by the weight of New Test. MS. authority, but by the MS. evidence for the same reading in Josephus (Bell. Jud. vii. 6. 6). The consent of these independent witnesses to the placing of an Emmaus at that distance from Jerusalem will settle the point to most minds. It may be added that a distance of 160 stadia would be no localisation at all, seeing that the *direction* from Jerusalem is not given. Let any one plant a circle of 40 miles diameter on his map of the land and judge the value of such a description of the situation of a village! A site must be sought on the circle formed by a radius of 7 or 8 miles from Jerusalem.

Of the claimants to represent the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. this will dispose of two—'*Amwas*, which is twenty miles from Jerusalem; and *Kulonieh*, which is too near, though it might suit the 30 stadia of some MSS. of Josephus. The arguments for it are not of much force. It is not proved that though a colony was settled here it was *the* colony of Josephus (B. J. vii. 6. 6). Four sites still remain at which it has been proposed to locate Emmaus.

(1) Kuriet el Enab (Smith's Dict. Geog., and Thomson's Land and Book). The only argument is that this place is at the required distance from Jerusalem; that it is a suitable scene is a matter of opinion or of sentiment. The Greek tradition in its favour is of doubtful value. Its present name is the ancient one; being probably the Kirjath of Josh. xviii. 28. It is not likely that it was also known as Emmaus. If it had been, Luke or Josephus would have surely distinguished it by the use of that distinctive name.

(2) Etam, which is thus put by Lightfoot, and which we leave, with him, to the reader's judgment:—"Cum observamus ut Chammath, חמת, vel *Thermae Tiberiadis*, vulgo reddatur Graece Ἀμμαοῦς, cumque observamus etiam *Emmaunta* nostram, aquis celebribus quoque nobilem, non recognoscere non possumus *Aquas Nephtoae*, vel *Fontem Etam*, unde

deductae per tubos sunt aquae ad Templum: qui quidem erat ab Hierosolymis ab eodem cardine coeli, quo et *Emmaus* nostra. Et formari potest Ἐμμαους nostra ab אמת *Ammath*, *Canali aquarum*, aeque ac altera Ἀμμαους, ab חמת *chammath*, Thermis. Sed judicet lector." (Lightfoot Chorographica Pauca, Lucae Praemissa, Cap iv. § iii.)

(3) *El-Kubeibeh*, which is at the required distance to the north-west of Jerusalem; the exact measurement being 62½ stadia. It has the doubtful evidence of Crusaders' tradition. It has been said they found the name of Emmaus applied to it by the native population as early as the eleventh century. The claims of Kubeibeh have been set forth at length by Dr. H. Zschokke, of the Austrian Pilgrim House at Jerusalem (*Das Neutestamentliche Emmaus beleuchtet*, Schaffhausen, 1865). It is supported by several resident authorities there, as Herr C. Schick and others. The weak part of the evidence in its support is the date at which the name Emmaus first appears there, and the authority for its appearance even then. On the other hand, it may be said that, though apparently an ancient site, the present name is not (like Kuriet) an ancient one, and no native tradition conflicts with the Crusaders' testimony.

(4) Khămăsa, also at the required distance, but to the south-west of Jerusalem. Its claims are set forth by Lieutenant Conder (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 172), who, however, has now cast off his foundling. The chief argument for it is its name, which may be derived from the ancient "Hammath." On this we are unable to judge. If scholars agree on the origin of the name it would be a weighty argument, and would probably secure for this site general acceptance. Possibly the spring which still exists, and which gave its name to the ruins, "ruin of *the fountain* of the church," was once a thermal spring. The absence of a warm spring in a country so liable to volcanic changes could scarcely be pressed against any of the claimants, though Emmaus Tiberias still deserves the name.

The choice among present claimants seems to lie between the two last El-Kubeibeh, as every one who has visited it will admit, befits the scene of such a story, and certainly the Crusaders were not often as fortunate in the suitableness of the sites they identified with Bible places. From Lieutenant Conder's account Khămăsa seems quite as suitable, and has the advantage in the transmitted native testimony which its name affords. We still incline to it; though amidst so much uncertainty, the only thing we feel certain about is, that the place was not Nicopolis. There is perhaps something befitting the narrative and the manner of all the Lord's appearings during the forty days, in this veil cast over the scene of it. Possibly we would not be gainers if it could be localised.

A. HENDERSON.